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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

AT GENEVA CONFERENCE

Palestine Question Discussed

by Livia Rokach
Our Rome Correspondent

GENEVA — The UN Conference on the Question of Palestine accorded full diplomatic status to the PLO delegation, August 31, which, absurdly, had only been granted the rank of observer. Following this decision, the head of the delegation and of the PLO political department, Farouq Kaddoumi, took the floor to pronounce his address. Kaddoumi had been scheduled to speak during the inaugural session the day before, but declined to do so. Only a short message of PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat was read at the session.

The PLO delegation is composed, in addition to Kaddoumi, of executive committee member and head of the Unified Information Department Yasser Abed Rabbo, UN permanent representative Shafiq al-Hout, UN representative Labib Terzi and Columbia University Professor and Palestine National Council member Edward Said.

In his address, Kaddoumi re-proposed the Brezhnev formula of a United Nations-sponsored international conference to solve the question of Palestine. Kaddoumi also recalled that in contrast with the permanently obstructive and destructive attitude of Israel, the PLO has always adopted a constructive and supportive attitude towards UN initiatives and proposals. Finally, the PLO's "foreign minister" minimised the importance of the Fatah split, claiming that these are "normal minor differences" and that on basic issues "all Palestinians are united."

Responding to questions on Begin's resignation, Shafiq al-Hout said: "Begin was forced to resign by the actions of the resistance in Lebanon. He will not be the last victim of this resistance. After him, others who will try to continue his policies will fail too."

Unconfirmed rumours, reported in the press and attributed to Swiss security service sources, claim Arafat may arrive in Geneva towards the closure of the conference. On the other hand, UN General Secretary Peres de Cuellar is reported to have already left Geneva, after having launched an appeal "to all parties in the conflict in Beirut to follow the road of negotiations and not of the use of force."

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Israeli occupation authorities refused permission, August 26, for Bassam Shaka'a, the elected mayor of Nablus, to attend the UN Conference on Palestine, presently sitting in Geneva. Shaka'a was to be one of 12 guests of honour invited to Geneva, and the only honour guest from the occupied territories.

The turn-down came in a phone call from the Nablus military governor. He told Shaka'a that Israeli Minister of Defence Moshe Arens refused to permit Shaka'a to go to Geneva. No explanation for the prohibition was given. A day earlier Shaka'a had telegrammed the United Nations, telling them the Israeli authorities were ignoring his demand to be allowed to attend the conference.

Shaka'a, in a conversation with *Al Fajr*, said the Conference on Palestine is an "official international demonstration against the Israeli policy in the region." He called it a victory for the Palestinian people.

"This conference aims at achieving peace in the whole world, because it does not only aim at attaining security, peace and tranquility for the Palestinian people, but also for the Jewish people," said the mayor, who was deposed by the military in March 1982. "I am certain that my participation in the Conference on Palestine would have enriched the conference with information about what is happening in the occupied territories. However, I, with my own people, will remain the base of the struggle against the aggressive policy in the occupied territories and the base for the Arab and progressive international struggle for achieving a just and durable peace in the region."

Shaka'a has sent a paper entitled *A Dynamic Contemporary and Historical View on the Palestinian Cause* to the conference. In it he demanded full recognition of the PLO, which gained its international legitimate position for its ability to make the Palestinian cause a central international issue.

Shaka'a demanded the countries at the conference condemn the practices of Israel in the occupied territories and the demographic changes which have occurred in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Shaka'a called on the conference to support the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and establishing an independent Palestinian state. In his letter, Shaka'a denounced the USA's aggressive policy in the region, the Camp David accords, the Reagan initiative and the Israeli-Lebanese agreement. Shaka'a described these schemes as "anti-just peace projects."

Shaka'a also demanded that the UN implement resolutions 508 and 509 regarding the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. He called on the European countries to join the international consensus in support of the PLO and the international will for establishing peace in the region.

JORDANIANS ARREST POLITICAL PRISONER

Palestinian political prisoner Zakaria Yahia Dalghoum, from Faqqu'a in the Jenin district, was arrested by Jordanian authorities in mid-August as he was forced across the Jordan river bridge by Israeli authorities shortly after they released him from prison. News sources said that the ex-prisoner, who does not hold an Israeli ID card, was picked up by Jordanian police immediately after he crossed the Damia bridge, in the northern region of the West Bank.

Dalghoum was arrested in 1969, after entering the occupied territories. He was charged with "armed infiltration," convicted and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. His release last month came one and a half years before his prison term was due to end.

The majority of Dalghoum's family is still residing in Faqqu'a.

Another prisoner, Rida Fajr, from Qabatiya, south of Jenin, who also has been in detention since 1969, is under threat of deportation. *Al Ittihad* daily said that Israeli authorities had notified him of their intention.

Due to the most recent devaluation in Israeli currency, Al Fajr now costs IS30 per issue.

AFTER LEBANON, ECONOMIC CRISIS

BEGIN ADMITS DEFEAT

Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin announced, August 30, his intention to resign his post "within a few days," during which time the Likud coalition is to try to select a new prime minister. The decision by the 70-year-old prime minister ended days of speculation since Israeli political leaders were caught by surprise when Begin said he would quit at the Sunday cabinet meeting, August 28. The move generated a state of uncertainty in Israeli political circles. Palestinians, by and large, expect no change.

After Begin first raised the possibility of quitting, his fellow ministers spent hours trying to dissuade him. Meetings of ministers and coalition partners were held over the next two days, in an effort to get him to retract.

Demonstrators, for and against Begin, blocked roads to his office and official home. Even before the final decision was announced to the street, the eight Herut Party ministers were conducting talks between themselves in order the choose a successor for Begin. According to Israeli newspapers, the strongest runner of three candidates is Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir. The other candidate is Deputy Premier and Housing Minister David Levy.

A poll of the ministers, August 31, was reported to have come out 7:1 in favour of Shamir. Levy has called for the Herut Central Committee to meet to choose the leader. He and minister without portfolio Ariel Sharon both have backers in the committee. Defence Minister Moshe Arens, who is not a MK, has also been cited as a possible party leader at some point in the future.

Outside the Herut Party, coalition partners have had a mixed response. The Liberals, Herut's partners in the Likud, have taken no official stand. Other coalition members, the extreme right wing Tehiya and the religious Agudat Israel, have both said that when Begin goes they will renegotiate coalition terms. Ministers themselves, speaking to reporters during negotiations, talked of a Beginless life of days or weeks for the Likud government.

On the other hand, the opposition Labour Party and the Alignment parliamentary coalition is also checking political ground as a likely option to form a government should the Likud fail to hold together after Begin quits. At the present moment, Labour leaders remaind silent.

The Israeli Communist Party, Rakah, which has three MKs in the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, issued a statement describing the impending resignation as an admission of the failure of the government's

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Lebanon guerillas make five strikes

Lebanese government troops, aided by the multi-national forces, swept through nationalist-dominated West Beirut, August 31, on a large-scale operation to dislodge national alliance forces from their stronghold. The all-out assault on West Beirut ended a week of battles between President Amin Gemayel's army and national forces in the Shouf mountains and Beirut for control of the area, which Israeli troops plan to evacuate within a few days. The increase in tension emerged after Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin agreed to postpone redeployment until the Lebanese army completes preparations for the imminent showdown for control of the Shouf mountains.

The government troops started their attack early in the morning. According to foreign news correspondents, 10,000 soldiers backed by tanks and artillery pushed through the green line dividing the city, westwards. The move was preceded by a period of heavy bombardment and continuous bursts of automatic gunfire. Describing the advance in the capitol, the *United Press International* correspondent said M-48 tanks and armoured personnel carriers advanced in short thrusts with tank cannons and machine guns firing.

During the assault, US Marine helicopters circled the battleground, apparently in order to locate and direct fire at nationalist forces' positions and strongholds in the city.

The day's battles left 24 people dead, including six Lebanese soldiers, and 49 others wounded, police sources reported. This brought the total casualty toll in the fighting, which broke out on Sunday, August 28, to 79 dead. Among them were two US Marines, five French soldiers and 42 Lebanese soldiers. There were also 326 injuries, of which 14 were US Marines, seven French, three Italians and 160 Lebanese soldiers.

As the battles raged, Gemayel issued a statement calling for a "conference of national reconciliation." The call was immediately rejected by leaders of the largest militant opposition groups.

In an interview with *Agence France Presse*, August 31, Jumblatt said that he had been in contact with Nabih to coordinate political stands concerning the current anti-national drive. Earlier, in a statement issued by the PSP and distributed in Damascus, the party described the president's call for a "national reconciliation conference" as "an attempt to cover-up the massacres committed by the Gemayel regime."

Current tension broke last Sunday with clashes and exchanges of fire after the Lebanese army bombarded national positions on the Shouf mountains. At the same time, Amal fighters confronted an attempt by the Lebanese army to redeploy in some West Beirut areas and beat them back.

Western reporters in Beirut said nationalist fighters drove the Lebanese army out of West Beirut, August 29, and briefly occupied studios of the government-run television station.

During the fighting, *Amal* militiamen aided by nationalist groups from the Murabitoun and the Lebanese Communist Party, clashed with US Marines, who tried to help the Lebanese army. The Marines reportedly used 155 mm guns against *Amal* positions in Beirut.

In the Shouf mountains, PSP fighters rocked government troop positions in the vicinity of Beirut and the airport for three successive days.

Gemayel government troops, the multi-national forces and Phalangist forces are said to be preparing themselves for a decisive battle, which is expected imminently.

Meanwhile the US government, in a show of force, decided to send the aircraft carrier Eisenhower to be stationed along the Beirut coast. France also announced the dispatch of aircraft carrier Fouche to Lebanon.

Associated Press said that thousands of Lebanese Druze residents from various parts of the country have been flocking to the Shouf mountains in order to defend the mountains against Phalangist government attempts to enter the area by force.

Gemayel goes to war on Shi'ites

There were reports of attacks by National Resistance Movement fighters, and the Shi'ite *Amal* movement called a general strike in the Beqa'a and villages of South Lebanon, August 31, to mark the fifth anniversary of the disappearance of Shi'ite spiritual leader Imam Musa al-Sadr.

The Lebanese National fighters attacked an Israeli patrol, August 28, passing through the village of 'Aitat, near Aley. The fighters used rocket launchers and the military spokesman admitted that one soldier was killed in the attack. *Agence France Presse* quoted the Israeli military spokesman as saying that the Israeli army faces a real guerilla war and that Israeli soldiers "must have special training."

The Phalange Radio reported, August 28, that their militias combed the area around al-Manara after they came under rocket fire the night before. The radio station did not report casualties. Also August 28, an Israeli soldier was slightly wounded in the Aley region when a mine exploded near his military vehicle.

The Israeli military spokesman claimed, August 27, that five Lebanese National fighters were killed and another three wounded in a clash at an Israeli military roadblock. The LNRM guerillas were in two cars near Mukhtara, the home town of Walid Jumblatt, the leader of the Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party. The Israeli military spokesman reported that the fighters opened up on the Israelis with lights arms. There were no casualties, he said.

The same claim was made after Lebanese fighters set an ambush near Jouaiya, east of Tyre. The spokesman reported that the body of one fighter was found after Israeli troops combed the area. Israeli soldiers also found three Kalishnikov rifles and a rocket grenade launcher.

In Kamed al-Loz, west of Beqa'a, two Palestinian fighters clashed with Israeli soldiers at dawn, August 27. The military spokesman reported that one of them was killed and the other wounded. There was no official confirmation of the Israeli report.

ISRAELI WOUNDED FOLLOWING ESCAPE ATTEMPT

An Israeli military spokesman reported, August 30, that an Ansar Camp guard in South Lebanon was injured and four Palestinian prisoners were wounded at 8:00 pm, August 29, during an escape attempt by one prisoner.

The military spokesman said that when the Palestinian prisoner was re-arrested, other prisoners began throwing stones at the guards, wounding the soldier, whose name was not released. The military spokesman reported that Israeli soldiers then opened fire at the prisoners and four were wounded. The military spokesman did not report about the conditions of the Palestinians wounded.

According to Israeli sources, Israeli army units are making repairs in the camp to tighten security. Several tunnels dug by the Palestinian prisoners were discovered. Three thousand prisoners were transferred from one part of the prison to another, while construction work is underway. Israeli authorities are planning to build a stone wall around the camp to prevent prisoners from escaping.

The military correspondent of *HaAretz* Israeli daily reported, August 28, that a network of tunnels under Ansar was discovered by Israeli soldiers making security renovations. Stores including hand-held weapons, such as daggers, knives and clubs, were found below ground.

(Translation: Al Mithaq, Al Shaab, August 31).

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Conference

At least 136 countries participated in the opening session of the 10-day UN Conference on the Question of Palestine, which convened in Geneva on August 29. UN Secretary General Peres de Cuellar opened the first session, which was highlighted by a message from PLO chairman Yasir Arafat, read to the 1000 conferees, in which he demanded the convening of an international conference for a solution of the Palestinian question, based on UN decisions.

Al Fajr staff adds:

Israel, the USA and Canada are officially boycotting the gathering. According to last minute estimates, 56 countries will send delegates. France and the Vatican will participate in the conference as observers. Portugal, Spain, Austria, Switzerland and Greece, among the Western European countries, will send full delegations. The socialist bloc, non-aligned states, the members of the Organisation of African Unity and the Islamic countries will all send full delegations.

In his opening speech, de Cuellar said that the Palestinian cause has occupied the UN for 36 years, and still no solution has been reached. "The Palestinians live either under the occupation or in exile," de Cuellar said. The Palestinian tragedy intensified after the massacres at Sabra and Shatila camps in Lebanon, in which women, children and elderly were killed. De Cueller demandedthat the international community participate in finding a solution to the Palestinian problem.

Arafat, in his call for an international conference, said that all parties, including the PLO, should participate on an equal basis in the conference and that the conference should base itself on the 16th Arab Summit resolutions taken at Fez, Morocco. Yasser Abed Rabbo, chairman of the PLO's Unified Information department, read Arafat's letter.

Farouq Kaddoumi, head of the eight-member PLO delegation and chairman of the PLO political department, demanded that sanctions be imposed against Israel. He also joined Arafat in calling for an international conference with the participation of the USSR and USA, to reach a comprehensive and permanent peace in the region. Kaddoumi called on the European Economic Community to "liberate themselves from American pressures" nd reiterated the attitude of the PLO against the Reagan plan which, Qaddumi said, "deprives the Palestinian people of their simplest right."

Four delegations representing the PLO, the Arab League, the Islamic Conference Organisation and Tunisia left Tunis for Geneva. Three of the PLO delegates are members of the executive committee.

Al-Hout said the fact that France will only be an observer is "sorrowful and reflects an official setback."

The French government refused to convene the conference in Paris, saying it "will not lead to a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East." Observers said then that the French government's attitude echoed that of French Jewry, which described the aim of the conference as an attempt to give legitimacy to the PLO."

Francois Remi, the UN adviser for conference affairs, told reporters, August 27, that security and peace will not last in the Middle East without a comprehensive solution and recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state. Remi called on the world to recognise the rights of the Palestinian people.

The Soviet delegation for the conference, headed by Vladimir Venogradov, the foreign minister of the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, believes that the UN conference on Palestine will "facilitate the attempts to reach a comprehensive solution to the conflict in the Middle East." Venogradov, who headed the Soviet coordinating committee for the affairs of the conference, said that the Soviet delegation "aims at revealing the faces of the enemies of the people." Venogradov asserted that the USA aims only at attaining a solution for the Palestinians in a settlement according to which the USA would control the whole region of the Middle East and guarantee the dominion of Israel for an indefinite period.

Venogradov accused Israel of attempting to destroy the Palestinian people and to end the Palestinian cause.

Venogradov said the Soviet Union will recommend the conference adopt decisions calling for withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories to the pre-1967 borders, including East Jerusalem, recognition of Palestinian rights and the establishment of a Palestinian state. The Soviet Union suggested the conference set up international guarantors for achieving a settlement in the Middle East.

Mustafa Neiasi, foreign minister of Senegal, was appointed conference chairman and Losil Mayer, from Jamaica, general secretary.

On the second day, Habib Shatti, chairman of the 43-country Islamic Conference organistion, criticised the negative political attitude of the USA and the EEC countries.

Xao Xiyang, China's Prime Minister, and Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of Viet Nam, sent letters to the conference expressing their support of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO.

Over 3000 soldiers and policemen are stationed around the United Nations building in Geneva, where the conference will be convened. A special Swiss unit, including tanks and armoured vehicles, is stationed around the building. There is also a heavy guard on the airport.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 174, September 2, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censor	**26**
Number of articles totally censored out	**2**
Number of articles partially censored but used	**1**
Number of articles passed	**23**

FORCED RETIREMENT FOR JENIN TEACHERS

Israeli military authorities notified eight school principals and teachers from the Jenin district, August 31, that they are being sent on forced retirement. Several teachers, all of whom are under legal retirement age, said that they are leaving their jobs unwillingly.

The teachers were sent summonses to appear at the Jenin education department, in order to complete paper work for retirement. Lamis Mansour, one of the teachers concerned, said she does not know the reasons. She said that she was "astonished" at being retired.

Nahleh Darbi, principal of the Jenin preparatory school for girls, also expressed opposition. By the same token, Fawaz Doulani, who teaches at Jenin Elementary School, and Yusef Malhis, a teacher in Sailet al-Harthiyeh school, both of whom have been working for less than 24 years, expressed dissatisfaction with the authorities' measure.

According to regulations, the education system in the occupied West Bank is subordinate to the Jordanian ministry of education. Teachers who were enlisted before the 1967 occupation of the West Bank and many teachers employed after 1967 are being paid by the Jordanian ministry of education. The decisions to retire teachers are being taken by the Israeli military.

Palestinian teacher activists, members of the General Committee of Government School Teachers (GCGST), described the authorities' decision as an "attempt to empty the education system of experts and skilled (people) necessary for this important field." The committee charges the Israelis also want to get rid of teachers on the Jordanian government's pay list.

Neturei Karta Reiterates Anti-Zionist Position

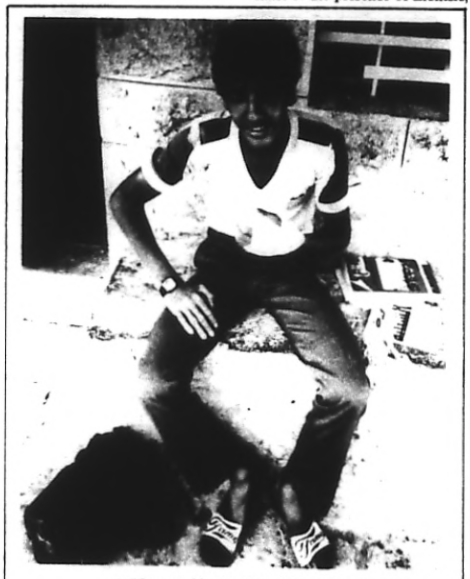
Neturei Karta, the anti-Zionist Orthodox Jewish movement, sent UN General Secretary Peres de Cuellar a memorandum, August 25, reiterating their position on the Palestine question. Neturei Karta, which is not attending the present UN Conference on the Question of Palestine at Geneva, Switzerland, because of the presence of Zionists, asked de Cuellar to make their paper available to states and delegations at the meeting.

They said Orthodox Jewry was "opposed to the formation of a Jewish state in Palestine, and especially a state placed under the jurisdiction of Zionists" and also especially demanded Jerusalem not be included in the Zionist state.

Neturei Karta, reiterating a 1947 position, said Jerusalem should be an international city with its citizens under the protection of the United Nations and that the holy city be considered neutral. "A greater Jerusalem, given the status of an international zone by international agreement, is the surest guarantee for its neutrality. All efforts should be directed to assure that in this holy city there should be implemented the unity of international brotherhood towards all mankind, and to prevent the underlying causes for disharmony and animosity," the statement said.

Neturei Karta accused that the Zionist state has "usurped, without justification, the holy name of Israel," and that "Torah true Jews wish to live in peace and harmony with their neighbours and with the community of nations and deplore the policies carried out by those who misuse the name of Israel."

"The Zionists cannot speak for and do not represent the Jewish people," they said.



A 20-year-old Bir Zeit University student was arrested in Gaza, August 26, for not having proper identification; his ID card had been confiscated by military authorities in Ramallah for alleged participation in the July 27 demonstration. Omar says he was beaten by soldiers before being released August 28/JN

BZU rally protests magazine closure

More than 1500 students, teachers and residents took part in a rally in Bir Zeit University, August 25, to express solidarity with the national Palestinian press, especially *Al Shira'* magazine, which the Israeli authorities closed down two weeks ago.

The rally, which was held on the new campus, was called for by the student council. Nayef Sweitat, student council chairman, read the opening speech, in which he reviewed Israeli authorities' practices against Palestinian institutions. He condemned the closure of *Al Shira'* as an arbitrary measure, and conveyed the support of the national student movement to the struggle being waged by the Palestinian press against Israeli practices.

Radwan Abu Ayyash, member of the administrative committee of the Arab Journalists Association, gave a brief history of Israeli harassment of the Palestinian press. He called for solidarity with Palestinian journalists and newspapers in order to be able to carry out their role.

Yusef Hamed, a journalist who worked with *Al Shira'*, said the attack on the magazine was premeditated. Hamed explained the fact that the authorities were unable to find any 'legal' excuse for closing down the magazine.

Tulkarm, camp in water fight

A controversy erupted between Nur Shams refugee camp officials and the municipality of Tulkarm, August 27, over water supplies to the refugee camp. Military government-appointed camp officials accuse Tulkarm municipality of not honouring an agreement which allows them six hours of water every two days. Mayor Hilmi Hanoun of Tulkarm says the problem is being "fuelled by the military authorities."

Mis'ed Saleh, one of the two mukhtars of Nur Shams refugee camp, population 6000, stated that for nearly 10 days the camp residents had no running water. He complained: "The municipality did not honour an agreement which would have solved the water shortage."

Saleh explained that during the meeting, which was held at the municipality nearly two weeks ago, Hanoun pledged to give the camp six hours every two days, during which the water tower of the camp would be filled. This meeting was held to nesolve a two-month water shortage.

Hanoun said that according to his information, more than 80 percent of the 400 families linked with the water system are receiving water. He further added that the municipality had extended a 3-inch pipe from the water well in Tulkarm to the camp at a distance of more than 450 metres, at municipality expense. People who live on the hill, above the level of the water pumpers, are not getting water. He blamed camp officials for the lack of water in these houses, saying that it is their duty to pump water from the camp's main tower to the houses on the hill.

An employee at the water department of the municipality contacted by *Al Fajr* confirmed that the municipality is carrying out its part of the deal. The employee, who refused to have his name published, said that it was his job to make sure that water supplies are reaching the different areas in a constant and stable manner. While rejecting claims that water supplies are not reaching the camp, the employee explained that water is being pumped between 6:00 am and 12:00 noon, once every two days. "This amount is sufficient for the 400 families who are connected to the Tulkarm municipality water department," he said.

Clear contradiction also appeared between Hilmi Hanoun's statements and the statements of Nur Shams mukhtar, who accused the mayor of refusing to forfeit the right to supply the camp with water. Hanoun insisted that he offered the camp delegation, which visited him on August 27, the authority to find another source of water supply and manage an independent department for water. "We are not obligated to give water to the camp, since it is not within municipal boundaries," Hanoun said. Even though it is very costly to the limited budget of the municipality, we continue to supply water to the camp because we feel a moral obligation to do so," he said.

The Tulkarm mayor expressed suspicion that the Israeli authorities are behind the problem in order to "stir problems for the municipality." He speculated that the authorities are looking for a pretext to exert pressure on him, especially since he continues to refuse to meet the Israeli 'civil administration'.

Arrabeh Hosts Folklore Festival

Over 1000 people attended a three-day festival of Palestinian folklore and culture in Arrabeh, the Galilee. Central to the festival was an exhibition of traditional clothes, artifacts and agricultural implements collected from residents of the village.

The exhibition, in the well-organised village cultural centre, was opened by Sa'oud Na'ami, the centre's administrator, on Thursday, August 25. He introduced speakers, including Professor Sharif Kananeh of Najah University and members of the Committee for Palestinian Folklore in the West Bank. Local women modelled traditional dresses from different parts of Palestine, supplied by the *Inash al-Usra* (Protection of the Family) society from el-Bireh.

Friday evening was given to a programme of reminiscences about life in the village by older residents and to a recital of traditional dancing. A group of local men, who had taken part in the recent Nazareth work camp, performed *Sh'awiya* and *Badawiya* dances.

One participant said the festival served to reinforce "the already strong awareness of their Palestinian national heritage among local people."

On Saturday evening, a mock wedding was held in the traditional manner. The events were so well attended that organisers are talking of the need for a permanent museum of Palestinian folklore in the village. Plans are already underway to make the festival an annual event.

Soldiers Break Into Beit Sahour Club

Israeli soldiers broke into the Greek Orthodox Club in Beit Sahour, August 28, and confiscated books, magazines and wall posters. Club chairman Nasim Hilal told *Al Fajr* that the soldiers conducted a thorough search of the library and activity rooms.

At 6:00 pm, club members said, Israeli soldiers arrived in four jeeps and told Sami Ghanem, an employee in the club, that they wanted to conduct a search. Ghanem demanded to see a search order, but the soldiers, proceeded to search the club for an hour and a half without presenting one.

One month ago Israeli soldiers broke into the club. Hilal told *Al Fajr* that Israeli authorities want to "harass the club because of its national stand."

ELDERLY NABULSI SENTENCED

Nablus military court sentenced a 66-year-old resident of Jit, near Nablus, August 22, to two years imprisonment. Id Abd al-Razek Bani Odeh, who is suffering from cardiac disease, was convicted on a charge of selling weapons. The prospective buyer, who is also being held for trial, provided the testimony which convicted the elderly man.

Despite medical evidence that the man is suffering from a heart condition — he was hospitalised five times since his arrest last May — Nablus military court refused the lawyer's petition for his release. Last week the lawyer sent a letter to the Israeli commander of the West Bank urging him to consider Odeh's old age and his condition. In his petition, the lawyer said that would not be s' stark prison con

CAMPUS solidarity call on BZU

Collection of tear-gas canisters, gathered during recent demonstrations at BZU./JN

More than 25 students from Tel Aviv University, activists in the progressive Israeli CAMPUS movement, paid a solidarity visit to Bir Zeit University, August 26, after the heavy prison sentences given nine students for taking part in a demonstration.

During the visit, leaders of the Palestinian student movement and the progressive Israeli movement agreed to coordinate future activities to defend academic freedom and other broader goals, as well as rallying support for national self-determination for the Palestinian people.

The meeting, held in a classroom on the old campus, was attended by nearly 10 Palestinian students, representatives of all four student blocs.

Before going into the meeting, the visiting students were shown a tear gas canister exhibit, displayed by the student council. More than 20 empty canisters, of different varieties, were collected after several recent assaults by the Israeli army to put down demonstrations at the university.

Nayef Sweitat, head of the student council , welcomed the visiting delegation and described contacts with progressive Jewish groups as a strategic relationship. Sweitat, who was assisted by a Hebrew translator, outlined the common ground on which the joint struggle of the two groups was to be concentrated. He spoke of the PLO's programme and general perspective of the struggle in the area as an instrument not only devoted to freeing Palestinian people from Zionist occupation, but also to assist in freeing Jews from Zionist control.

Sweitat listed areas which called for counteraction by the Palestinian student movement and Jewish democratic forces, particularly fascist trends in official Israeli policy and settler vigilante activities in the occupied territories.

Gadi Elgazi, spokesman for theCAMPUSgroup, affirmed support for the Palestinian people's right to national self-determination. "The war in Lebanon was aimed at killing the Palestinian right to self-determination," he said. Elgazi, who was the first Israeli to be imprisoned for refusing army service in the occupied territories, emphasised that Bir Zeit University, which upholds the Palestinian national heritage, had participated in foiling Israeli schemes and quisling groups established by the Israeli authorities as alternatives to the PLO.

Elgazi described CAMPUS as a coalition group which contains Zionist, non-Zionist and anti-Zionist students. "One important task adopted by the movement is to confront the authorities' fascist practices in universities," he went on. On a larger scale, the movement is working to cancel the Israeli occupation by informing the Israeli public of news of the Palestinian political struggle, particularly in Bir Zeit University.

At the end of the meeting, leaders of both student groups went into a closed session to draw up a programme for cooperation and future coordination of activities.

Speaking to *Al Fajr* after the joint meeting, Elgazi described the meeting as "very productive. We hope to keep regular contacts with Bir Zeit students," he said.

Students arrested for campus elections

The military court in Gaza heard, August 17, the cases of five students from the Islamic University charged with belonging to the national bloc, which contested the last polls for the student council in Gaza.

Four students, Mustafa Abu Ghouleh, the chairman of the bloc, Zakeria Talmas, Hani Abu Zeid and Mohammed Yusef Dahlan, were accused of membership in a group supporting the PLO and supporting the use of violence and armed force against Israel. They were also charged with incitement and attempting to affect public opinion by distributing leaflets among students which encouraged them to support the PLO and armed struggle against Israel.

A fifth student, Nader Mehat Qishawi, was accused of serving an illegal group and conspiring with Hani Abu Zeid to print leaflets supporting the national bloc. Qishawi was also accused of contacting the heads of the national bloc in order to print the leaflets.

Lawyer Ghazi Humaid Abu Wardeh, representing the five, told *Al Fajr* that the case is unprecedented. The detainees, in their statement to interrogators, said that they had no political aim other than participating in student elections, he said."

The first four students printed their names on national bloc notices pasted on the walls of the university two days before the elections, January 15, 1983. The notices included the Palestinian flag, the court heard.

In the August 17 session, Abu Wardeh told *Al Fajr*: "I questioned Albert Hasoun, a colonel who worked in the interrogation department for 15 years. He confessed that this is the first time students were arrested on charges of belonging to a student electoral bloc. The colonel said also that if the students had distributed these leaflets in the streets they could have been arrested on charges of violating public order."

Abu Wardeh told *Al Fajr* that the students should be acquitted "because there is nothing legal to convict them on." The court postponed the session untill September 6 to hear testimony of an Israeli security expert. Mustafa Abu Ghouleh and Mohammed Yusef Dahlan were arrested June 6, Nader Qishawi, May 11, Hani Abu Zeid, May 8, and Zakeria Talmas on April 21.

MILITARY AUTHORITIES BAN CITRUS REPORT

The Gaza Citrus Producers Union will not be distributing its annual report this year because the Israeli military authorities in the Strip have withheld permission.

Mohammed Frangi, an agricultural engineer working for the citrus union, submitted the annual report to the Israeli colonel responsible for Arab affairs five weeks ago. Since then, the colonel has avoided giving Frangi a straight answer on the question of a permit.

Hashem Shawaa, the chairman of the union, told *Al Fajr* that the Israelis do not like a clear-cut positive or negative answer." Shawaa explained that the Israelis do not want people to know about the conditions of citrus in Gaza. In previous years, copies of the report were sent to scholars and researchers inside and outside the country as well as industry contacts.

According to industry sources, this year's report, which took two months to prepare, included a table about the production of citrus in Gaza for the previous ten years, agricultural and marketing problems of plantations, a critical article about the refusal of the Gulf countries to market Gaza Strip citrus and a copy of the memorandum presented to Israeli minister of agriculture demanding he take steps to maintain citrus plantations in Gaza.

Explaining the problem of the citrus industry in Gaza, Shawaa said this year a ton of citrus cost JD50 to produce and should have fetched JD100 if a reasonable profit was to be made. "We got only JD25 per ton," he said.

Last year, the Gaza Strip authorities banned publication of the Bank of Palestine annual report.

Production of Citrus in Gaza

YEAR	THOUSANDS OF TONS
1973/74	196.6
1974/75	191.5
1975/76	236.1
1976/77	227
1977/78	176.5
1978/79	183
1979/80	162
1980/81	185.4
1981/82	153

French Tourist Held For Alleged PLO Contacts

Israeli military authorities have been holding a French national in an undisclosed jail since July 10 for an alleged relationship with the PLO, the Israeli daily Davar reported, August 28. Israeli police and French diplomatic officials in Israel refused to give any further information or comment on the detention.

Henry Eichholtzer, 26, from Mulhouse, was detained after his arrival in Israel, last July, Agence France Presse reported. The agency stated that the case had been kept under much secrecy, and that Israeli police refuse to specify charges or reasons for the detention. A spokesperson for the French Consulate in Tel Aviv also declined to give any information on the case of Eichholtzer, saying she "knew nothing about it." She did confirm that he will face trial on September 2. Earlier, an AFP employee said that they do not know whether a military or civil court will hear the case.

According to the Davar report, the French national, who works as a teacher, is being charged with a "relationship with the PLO." The paper also said that the French foreign ministry is maintaining contacts with the Israeli authorities and described the charges as "not serious." The paper added that the charge sheet included accusations that he was seen in the company of PLO members in Tyre during Israel's 1978 invasion of Lebanon and that he had earlier visited Libya.

Settlers hamper massacre investigation

Settlers in Hebron area settlements have refused to relinquish their weapons for inspection by Israeli police, *HaAretz* reported August 26, hampering investigations into last month's massacre at Hebron University which left three Palestinians dead and 37 wounded.

According to *The Jerusalem Post*, August 29, Israeli police are looking particularly for automatic Soviet-made rifles, which are suspected to have been used in the attack on Hebron. *HaAretz* reported that there are at least 200 Kalashnikovs in Kiryat Arba, overlooking Hebron, all stolen during the invasion of Lebanon.

Police sources quoted by *The Jerusalem Post* were skeptical about the survey's success. An unnamed senior police source said that they are certain that only a very few people know the identity of the Hebron University attackers. The sources pointed to past experiences in which settlers refused to cooperate with investigating officers. The paper also pointed out that settlers assert the weapons they carry "belong to the army and are issued as part of the regional defence structure instituted by former chief of staff Rafael Eitan."

A second problem which hinders the uncovering of the attackers, *The Post* reported, is the settlers' practice of swapping parts of weapons which have been used in any action against Palestinian residents in order to invalidate ballistics testing.

HaAretz wrote that settlers possess large weapons caches which they obtained from various sources. Many settlers who did army service in Lebanon brought back the weapons they seized during the invasion of Lebanon. Also, weapons are obtained from settlers when they move from one settlement to another.

Two months ago, Israeli newspapers exposed protection afforded Israeli settlers suspected of vigilante activities by the Israeli military government and many members of the Israeli Knesset. They published excerpts of a special Karp Commission report, which outlines the freedom given to settlers to act against Palestinian residents. The report mentioned a number of cases in which settlers were being questioned by the police for attacks on Palestinian residents. The report concludes that investigations were being disrupted by the intervention of military governorate officials, government personnel or members of Knesset.

The Dawn

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Israel Must Face Reality

Begin's resignation is perhaps the most significant indication of the bankruptcy of Israel's current policies. He has fallen for many reasons, but first among them is the inability of the current regime to smash the Palestinians.

Last year's invasion was billed here as an operation to purge Israel of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. The high-technology carnage unleashed on Lebanon with the full backing of the US was supposed to leave the Palestinians impotent and leaderless. The ground would be set for US hegemony in the region.

The tenacity of Palestinian fighters caused the first cloud to appear on their political horizon; the diplomatic skills of the PLO maintained the basis for a just solution in the face of a deeply divided Arab world; and the basic principled commitment of Palestinian organisations to their goal allowed the movement to resolve internal disputes and keep moving forward. All this was achieved only against the background of the strength of Palestinian unity behind the PLO and popular determination to achieve their rights.

The US Middle East cabal, on the other hand, is now in disarray. In Israel, throwing Ariel Sharon to the wolves did not alleviate the political malaise for long; the economy – if this US-bankrolled monopoly game can be so termed – refuses to straighten itself out despite being given every opportunity to do so by cabinet inaction; and the vaunted Rapid Redeployment Forces are still cemented in the Shouf by the firm hand of the US. In Lebanon, Amin Gemayel has formally declared war on his own civilian population. Other pro-US regimes are impotent or not so stupid as to try to implement US demands. Robert McFarlane is reduced to the role of human Ping-Pong ball, shooting off one firm wall to the next.

Now Begin has thrown in the towel and even his ministers speculate that they will soon follow. The lessons are clear. The US's extreme policies, fully aided and abetted by regimes in the region, should be dropped and they must face reality. Throwing dollars at Israel's short-term problems and F-16s at Arabs may give a semblance of control in the short-term. But until they face up to reality, a reality with its roots deep in the Palestinian question, there will be no respite.

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's olive branch has still not fallen from his hand. The chance for peace, based on recognition of the Palestinians' right to a state under PLO leadership, is still there. The US can explain away crises by resorting to explanation based on the physical and mental health of individual acolytes if they wish. But political realities don't take doctors' notes.

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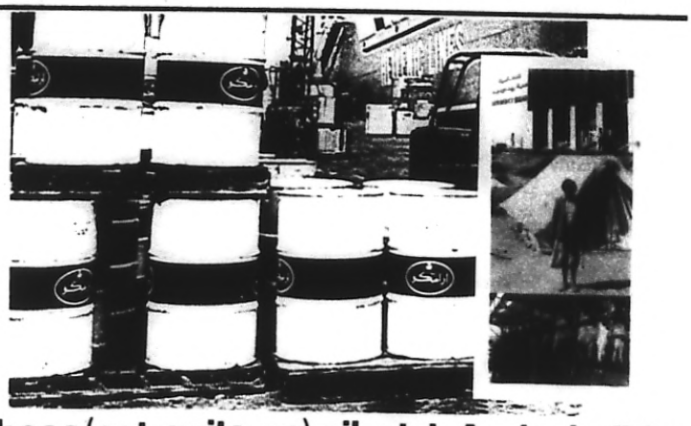


Those (not-quite-so) oil-rich Arab sheikhs

by Mohammed Abu Tarbush

From the first gushings of the oil boom, Arab wealth has been resented. Above all, it has been exaggerated.

Even at the peak of the boom, the combined annual GNP of Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and Qatar, at close to US$120 billion, was only slightly more than that of Belgium. The aggregate population of those five Arab countries – including foreigners, who in some cases make up as much as 50 percent – is only 11 million, a mere 7 percent of the Arab world's population.

To many citizens of the oil-producing countries, wealth arrived with the suddenness of a winning lottery ticket. Some were unable to deal with it rationally. The tales of unfettered shopping sprees are the stuff of well-documented legend. On the receiving end, too, there were abuses. Real estate prices in Europe invariably rocketed once hints of an interested Arab buyer began circulating.

Oil largesse was all the more resented because it arrived at a time when the West was feeling the pinch of its first major postwar recession. To Arab eyes, it seemed that much of world opinion would have preferred the Gulf countries to remain dependent and backward.

The West expressed a genuine fear of this petro-wealth. Liquidity gave that wealth dynamic mobility and the power to stabilise or destabilise entire economies. Most Western economists would now agree that the governments of the oil-rich nations adopted a responsible line, going out of their way not to disrupt the world economy.

With their own economies capable of absorbing only so much of the new wealth, they invested as much as 60 percent of their surplus cash reserves in the West, most of it in negotiable deposits and short-term securities.

A major portion of their imports came from the West. Thus, the bulk of the oil revenues was recycled, directly or indirectly, to generate economic activity back in the industrial countries from which it had been earned. Interest payments may have boosted the "book value" of those Arab funds, but the real value has been reaped ultimately by the foreign banks, financial institutions and economic sectors that housed, borrowed or used those funds.

The largest Arab investors in the West have invariably been government agencies. With unmatched returns on their money at home, most private investors looked abroad more for security than profit. But both demonstrated a preference for easily convertible instruments such as Treasury bills or corporate bonds, leaving only a fraction of their capital for direct investment.

A recent report by Chase World Corporation estimates that direct investment by Arab governments and individuals represents less than one percent of all direct investments in the United States. It goes on the ridicule emotional outcries against the prospect of Arabs "buying up" America. It observes: "Only about three percent of US farm acreage changes hands yearly; only five percent of the three percent is purchased by foreign buyers, and only one percent of the five percent of the three percent is bought by Arabs."

Now the shock of the recent drop in oil prices and accumulated experience and expertise are bound to produce a new orientation of Arab investment. The plummeting revenues have given sharp reminder that oil reserves are non-renewable, and many Arab governments sense that this may be a pivotal time to develop their own economies.

So far they have concentrated on pouring their wealth into urbanisation, industrialisation and erecting an infrastructure of roads, airports and power stations. Out of the desert rose monuments to modern architecture – but also superfluous industrial schemes and acres of tacky apartment blocks and garish hotels that are already proving too costly to maintain and are destined to become ghost towns once the oil companies and their expatriate labour forces pack up to return home.

Just as the energy crisis of the '70s provoked Western governments into seeking a better way to manage their resources, the current squeeze on oil revenues may prompt Arab governments to become more vigilant with their own. Already there are reports that Arab oil-producing countries plan to spend no more than 60 percent of their current budgets – a far cry from the overruns of the '70s.

The crisis could also spark more serious thought about the economic needs and potential of the Arab world as a whole. While the oil-producing countries now contribute almost as much in international aid as the United States, in many Arab countries, such basic amenities as hospitals, schools and sewage systems are still lacking.

The United Nations ranks some Arab countries among the poorest countries in the world. In Egypt and Morocco, per capita income is still less than US$800 a year. While the Arab world takes more than 10 percent (US$32 billion) of the world's agricultural imports, only 30 percent of the arable land in the Arab world has been exploited.

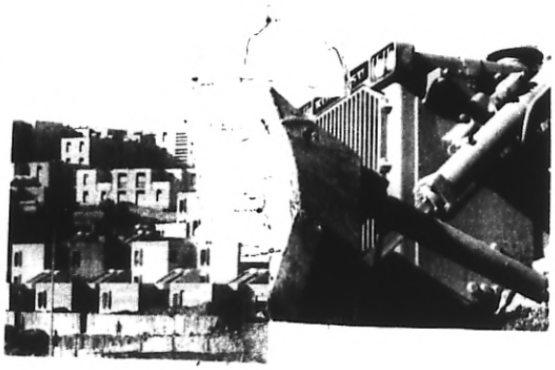
Until now some Arab oil producers have allocated more than half of their annual budgets to defence. How wise an investment this is can be questioned, considering that none of them could rebuff a foreign attack without outside help, and that in some cases more than 75 percent of the national army is foreigners. National security might be better served by promoting the prosperity of their less fortunate Arab neighbours. (Published in the International Herald Tribune 31.5.83)

OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles, and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Land Aquisition in the West Bank

by Jonathan Kuttab



In 1967, when Israel occupied the West Bank, there was virtually no Jewish-owned property on the West Bank. Today, substantial portions of the West Bank area are under the direct control of semi-governmental Jewish organisations who hold such land for the exclusive use of Jews. Such organisations, like the Karen Kayemet LeIsrael or the Jewish National Fund or their different subsidiaries, have gradually acquired large portions of land which they use for Jewish settlements. There are no exact figures available, because land records are no longer open to public scrutiny. The estimates, however, range from a low of 35 percent to a high of 65 percent of the entire land area of the West Bank.

This process of acquisition did not occur as a result of individual land purchases. Instead it was the result of a number of changes in the law, through military order, as well as direct action by the military authorities. The objective was to transfer the land in question first from Arab hands into the public domain, which is administered by the Israeli officials, and then from their hands into the institutional Jewish hands. These bodies are charged, under their internal by-laws, to hold the land in perpetuity on behalf of and to the benefit of the Jewish people exclusively. Such lands are not permitted to be sold again to private individuals, and only Jewish people can live on or lease such property.

This transfer took place through several methods. First came Military Order Number 59, under which the military government took charge and control of all the property of the Jordanian government and its subdivisions. Buildings and land that were directly owned and administered by the Jordanian government or the Jordanian army or the different ministries were taken over by the military government and used by them. Such lands, where useful and appropriate, were transferred for exclusive Jewish use.

At the same time, another Military Order, Number 58, set up a Custodian of Absentee Property. This Israeli official was appointed to hold and control all property belonging to Palestinians who happened to be outside the West Bank in 1967, and therefore were classified as absentees. Under Military Order Number 25, no land transaction can take place in the West Bank without approval of the Custodian. The Custodian, while in theory only a trustee, was given very wide powers of ownership and was permitted to dispose of the property any way he sees fit. In fact, the Custodian's office was merged with the Office of Government Property and any land that came under his control was also used as governmental land.

Next the authorities took control over all communally held property, such as the grazing grounds of villages or commonly cultivated fields that were not registered in the ownership of one individual but rather in the name of an entire village or community. Such land was defined as "public land" and, in a short legal step, "public land" was treated as governmental land which the authorities took control of as inheritors of the rights of the Jordanian government. This category of "public land" was greatly enlarged through several legal devices that utilised the existing legal definitions and altered the judicial procedures dealing with land ownership.

The complex Ottoman codes that applied in the area classified large portions of land in the West Bank as *miri* lands. Such lands were in theory ultimately owned by the king. This theoretical basis was converted into a factual position as the authorities declared that only one particular form of *tabu* registration was an acceptable method of proving private ownership. Less than one third of the area of the West Bank has been surveyed and registered in the prescribed manner.

Ownership of the other two-thirds is proven under a complex system of tax records, deeds of sale and purchase, evidence of testimony by neighbours as to actual use, and other types of documentation which the Israeli authorities deem to be unreliable. The question of land ownership was removed from the local courts and placed in the hands of an objections committee formed of Israeli army officers. Thus the authorities acquired large areas of land by merely declaring them to be state lands and ordering anyone who disputed the de-

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Jonathan Kuttab is a Palestinian lawyer and co-director of Law in the Service of Man, the West Bank affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists.

West Bank Reflections

by E. J. Hobsbawm

After a few days in Ramallah, on the occupied West Bank, where I am a guest lecturer at the Bir Zeit University for Palestinians, I suddenly realise that I have never before lived on the underside of military occupation. I have been to countries under military regimes, some quite murderous, but this is something else.

It isn't even force ranged against resistance, riot, or revolt. Considering the obvious and entirely justifiable sentiments of the conquered Palestinians here, the West Bank is amazingly tranquil. Even Moshe Arens, the Israeli defence minister, claims no more than maybe a dozen stone-throwing incidents a day, mostly by schoolchildren. There is no shortage of stones in this dry rocky landscape of mountains and terraced olive groves. Actual press reports suggest a much smaller figure. Indeed, if the Israeli soldiers expected even a hint of trouble, they would not behave with the casual, uncovered insouciance that is so striking to anyone who has been in real trouble-spots.

Still, in these modest pockets of land inhabited by 1.2 million Arabs, we live in the shadow of guns. It is a curious sensation to share this experience, even though a western foreigner runs no real risk except expulsion. Guns on the shoulders of young soldiers who, in pairs, slouch almost daily at the corners of the main square for no visible purpose. Guns on the unmarked uniforms of men in two trucks who follow our car through the night streets to hold us up for our papers. In Ramallah, once a flourishing resort, people stay off the streets after dusk.

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Ofra Settlement

Little effort has gone to make it attractive. None of that old-fashioned kibbutz greenery. A few rather pale men of evident piety (skullcaps, beards, and so on), pushing prams and shopping carriers past a stark hut labelled "Software" — these are the most visible inhabitants. The spokesperson of the community is a small American lady with a chubby skullcapped child, a library of Hebrew books and volumes of Dickens, and a gun on the porch. Curiously, the core of the new religio-military conquest, which has replaced the older versions of the Zionist dream, consists of a few thousand middle class immigrants of 1970s vintage from nice American suburbs.

Ofra likes to meet under a picture of the proposed new Jerusalem: the present Old City in which a Third Temple has taken the place of al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, under the Hebrew motto: "We shall restore as it was once built."

Mrs B is silent about the views of her fellow-Ofran, who argues, in the settlement's newspaper *Nekuda* — on the basis of Deuteronomy and subsequent commentaries — that the fate of conquered Gentiles should be an "absolute submission, compulsory acceptance of a strange civilisation, and agreement to a situation in which one will exist as a 'base and contemptible person' " who "will never walk with their head erect in the presence of Jews." She thinks relations with the local Arabs were fine, until the PLO terrorised them into hostility. However, her arguments are equally scriptural. She is fluent, intelligent, and with a mind as sealed as a space capsule. Talking to the Ayatollah Khomeini must be rather like this.

The spooky thing about these people is not simply that they clearly regard the Old Testament as a programme which will bring the Jews gloriously forward to 1000 BC, but that the Ofrans who hold such views earn their living by setting up small private enterprise firms in computing, optics, and genetic engineering. The combination of medieval fanaticism and 21rst century technology is rather terrifying. As so often in the Holy Land, one is struck by the lethal side of religion.

For Ofra, the Begin government is a bunch of compromising politicians. The Agudath Israel religious party, which is part of Begin's coalition, is unsound on religion, if only because — on rather good ground of strict Jewish orthodoxy — it is not and cannot be Zionist. Much of Mrs B's intellectual effort concentrates on overcoming these theological obstacles.

The Begin government, while sharing the zealots' biblical objectives (which must, of course, include those parts of King Hussein's Jordan where the Good Book records the tribes of Israel as undoubtedly settling) finds them useful, but relies on less theoretical motivations. The three ministries and the Zionist Organisation, who sponsor hard-sell advertisements to attract Israelis into the occupied lands, do not mention the Book of Judges. They stress "quality of life, personal fulfillment and landscape," "vibrant communities" and, by no means least, cheap subsidised housing, which will gain in value.

The areas genuinely popular among settlers are those within commuting and weekending distance of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. The West Bank is being occupied not by an influx of immigrants. Israel has virtually zero net immigration today — but by shifting the existing population.

What does it matter to the Arabs for what motives the Israelis take away their land for armed settlements and, more visibly, for the massive and fortress-like ranges of apartment-block suburbs which overawe them, like crusader

continued on page 13

E.J. Hobsbawm recently retired as professor of history at Birkbeck College, University of London. He lectured at Bir Zeit University in April.

Breaking Barriers at Summer Camp

by Maha Odeh

The second annual summer camp to be organised by the Abna' al-Balad movement in Um al-Fahm was held between July 31 and August 9. Set in a forest near Kufr Qara', the venture was designed to provide an opportunity for children to develop creative abilities, social awareness and independence in a situation removed from the defined structure of family and village life.

Abna' al-Balad invited the participation of 25 Jewish children from Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, together with some 20 children from Kufr Qara', Kufr Kanna and Haifa. A large contingent from Um al-Fahm brought the total to 180 youngsters. Jewish-Arab interaction at this level had never been attempted in the country before and was seen as a priority by the organisers in terms of the camp's overall effect.

Abna' al-Balad summer camp opens

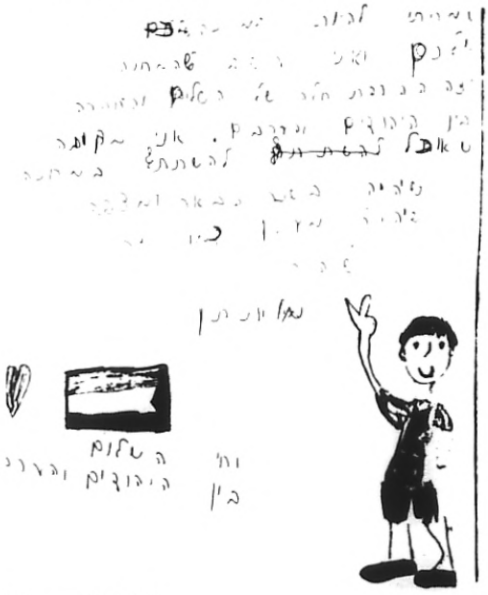
A comprehensive programme of activities, supervised by volunteers from Um al-Fahm, Norway and Britain, was arranged for each day of the camp. This programme provided for events and learning experiences both in and outside the camp area. The latter included bus trips to Jaffa and walks to neighbouring villages which allowed the children to learn of their history. Excursions to the beach were the first time that many youngsters had been offered the opportunity to swim.

All participants were encouraged to think about and take responsibility for day-to-day issues ranging from planning and constructing the tents, keeping the site clean and hygenic to, on occasion, cooking and serving the food. The bulk of the camp's activities centered on a programme of cultural events: singing, dancing, theatre, painting and drawing, and a series of discussions on the national situation as it effects the children. Subjects given an airing included relationships between children from different backgrounds, the preconceptions held by Jewish and Arab children alike, personal and political ideas and views, expectations of the camp and suggestions or improvement.

In assesing the value of the project, it is important to stress the intentions of the organisers - to explore ways of breaking down cultural barriers and to stimulate independence and personal growth. As a recreational facility, away from the confines of an ill-serviced Arab village, the provision of a summer camp was itself worthwhile. But it was ostensibly a medium to facilitate the forming of genuine relationships between the children and with the volunteers.

This strategy appears to be showing signs of success already, in the form of letters from Jewish children to individual kids in Um al-Fahm. In an effort to encourage these friendships, Abna' al-Balad plans to keep in touch with all involved throughout the coming year by organising events and visits, an initiative equally important in the struggle to allow for outlets for the talents and abilities of individual children.

Indeed, a comparative study of opportunties available to youngsters in an Arab village such as Um al-Fahm as opposed to their counterparts in the United Kingdom, for example, would show huge differences. There it is regarded that children have a right to play as part of an overall education — the dangers which stem from not satisfying that need include the stunting of a child's personality and consequent loss for the community as a whole. In recognising that situation, Abna' al-Balad in Um al-Fahm has committed itself to a policy of fulfilling those needs for the future benefit of the village and of Palestine.



To Marwan and Khaled: Hi

I was pleased about taking part in your camp and I believe that this camp is the beginning for peace and friendship between the Jews and the Palestinians. I hope I will be able to take part in the next summer camp and I expect it to be as interesting as the previous one. *Mil Yanatan*

Long live peace between the Jews and Arabs.

Palestine Studies at Exeter University

by Awad Abdel Fattah

In the past year, academic research into the history and culture of Palestine and the Palestinians has suffered major blows at the hands of their enemies. During the 1982 Lebanon war there was massive looting of Palestinian academic and cultural institutions most of the material is now in the hands of Israeli institutes. Then, last autumn, as yet unidentified bombers wrecked the Palestine Research Centre in Beirut, killing many of the staff. Not content with this, the Gemayel regime expelled Sabri Jiryis, director of the centre, in June.

All is not bleak on the research front, however. This summer saw the foundation of a Centre for Palestine Studies at Exeter University in southern England. The centre is the first of its kind in the West and is already at work. Graduates can apply for scholarships from the centre to do research on a wide variety of projects relating to the Palestinian situation. The centre plans that successful applicants will do most of their work in Palestine on the assigned project towards MA or PhD degrees.

Students who are not qualified to start with the field work immediately are asked to stay on site for one year or more either to improve their English or to do further reading.

The idea of the centre was first discussed in July 1982, when Professor Mohammad Sha'aban, the director of the Centre for Arab Gulf Studies and head of the Department of Arabic and Islamic studies at the university, invited Assa'ad Abd al-Rahman, a professor in sociology at the University of Kuwait, and Dr Uri Davis, a research fellow in Palestine Studies, to talk about setting up the centre. In October of the same year, a foundation conference was held and an advisory board was elected consisting of 15 members who are all centrally active in the area of Palestine Studies. Among them are Dr Khalil Nakhleh, an anthropologist, George Tama, teacher of philosphy at Kuwait University, Laila Mantoura, a London-based publisher, and Dr Amnon Kapeliuk, a prominent Israeli journalist. Others who could not personally attend, such as professor Hisham Sharabi and professor Ibrahim Abu Lughod, were closely consulted.

The centre is now in the process of consolidation. When fully operative, it is expected to provide both specialist teaching in the Department of Arabic and Islamic studies and postgraduate research facilities. Additional staff is planned, as well as a library of relevant research material to add to the existing coverage of Palestine and the Palestine-Israel conflict in the university's documentative unit.

"But the first priority for the programme in Exeter," Dr Uri Davis told *Al Fajr*, "is to promote scholarship relevant to the reality of the Palestinian people in Palestine and the next priority is to the Palestinians in countries neighbouring Palestine." Dr Davis, a prominent anti-Zionist Israeli who described himself as a Palestinian Jew, explained that the centre aims to produce scholarship of high standard that will be directed and applied and would aim to promote joint projects - such as the exchange of students and faculty — and joint publication with existing independent institutions inside Palestine.

The centre intends to promote historical research that is relevant to the contemporary situation of the Palestinians. "For instance," Davis explained, "the centre will not give high priority to research on the Palestinian situation in the United States but to the situation of the Palestinians after 1917."

The next stage of development is to offer, in the framework of Palestine Studies, courses in modern Hebrew language and literature.

Among the research projects now underway is an oral history of the 1936-39 revolt, which is being done through recording the history of the revolt from survivors who were witnesses of and participants in it. Other research projects are: an anthropological study of Tal al-Za'atar refugee camp, whose inhabitants were transported to Damour, and those in exile in West Berlin following the start of the 1976 civil war in Lebanon and the massacre at the camp; a critical study of the research produced in Israeli academic and non-academic institutions on the PLO in the period since 1964; and finally a critical study of the image of the Palestinian Arabs in popular Hebrew children's stories.

Future projects are also planned, such as documentation projects, and the centre plans to have the complete archives of the Sean MacBride International Commission, which inquired into reported violations of international law by Israel during its invasion of Lebanon.

The founders believe that the centre will contribute much to the independent scholarship of the Palestinian struggle. "We hope," said Davis, "that Palestine Studies in Exeter wins effectively support for the development of independent scholarship in Palestine by offering to existing independent institutions the academic services that are available in the West and are difficult to obtain under occupation." He indicated that the major fields of contribution will be in scholarships, library facilities and research facilities.

THE ASSOCIATION FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IN ISRAEL

PURSUING CIVIL RIGHTS ON LEGAL TIP-TOES

by Anita Vitullo

Like most democracies which promise to safeguard civil liberties and do not, Israel has an association to look over its job performance in this area. The Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI), established in 1972, is a well respected voice among the small group that knows of its legal defence work.

But its mandate is hindered, ACRI Chairperson Ruth Gavison admits, by the fact that Israel lacks the basic democratic props of a constitution and a bill of rights. Moreover, violation of individual rights is given legal sanction by the state's use of the (1945) Emergency Defence Regulations, a leftover from the British mandate's efforts to repress both Zionist and Palestinian opposition to its occupation of Palestine. "We want them abolished!" says lawyer Gavison of the draconian measures. But as the emergency martial law *cum* legal system enters its 40th year, Israeli civil rights advocates are in a bind. As Gavison points out: 'It is the law that Israel has the power, for example, to impose administrative restrictions on movement. We think it's wrong. We think it's bad. We think it's not sufficiently protective of human rights but this is the legal situation and we are working within it."

The current membership of the association, whose supporters include lawyers, academics and non-professionals, numbers 600. Their work, within a classical interpretation of civil rights, involves conveying complaints of civil rights violations to the authorities, providing legal counsel for such cases, initiating relevant legislation, and investigating instances of possible violations.

Much of the ACRI's activities are informational: it has held symposia on civil rights in the occupied territories, compensation for confiscated land, the right to criticise during war, freedom of expression in the mass media, and wiretapping, for instance. Position papers and "Know Your Rights", a series of public information manuals, address the topics of demonstrations, the use of flags, administrative detainees and soldiers.

The association made its first dramatic success on the public scene with its exposure of illegal Israeli practices in the Golan. Its investigation into the 1982 military blockade on striking villages in the occupied Golan and the administrative detention of four Druze leaders — backed by the weighty criticism of its president, former chief justice Haim Cohn — was followed by policy reversals in favour of the Golanis, at least in the area of restriction of movement and detentions without charge.

Government interference with press freedom has been an issue of particular interest for the group. For the past two years, the ACRI has been championing the case of *Taqadum* magazine. The Arabic weekly has yet to see the light of day because the authorities refuse to grant sociologist Dr Najwa Makhoul a license to publish, nor to give reasons for their refusal.

The ACRI provided *pro bono* legal counsel for Dr Makhoul to challenge the government in the High Court. Not only did they lose the case, but they were prevented from even seeing the alleged 'evidence' against their client because of 'security' claims.

The Makhoul case highlights a major problem in litigating civil rights in Israel: litigation is virtually impossible when the evidence is kept 'secret' by the government, and when judges are reluctant to overrule defence ministry 'security' judgements. In the Golan, the military's two-month blockade was lifted one day before the ACRI was scheduled to bring a petition to court questioning the sealing of the area (which had also excluded the ACRI's investigating team). The authorities' timing saved the court from the dilemma of judging the merits of a so-called security measure. Later, a reviewing court did decide that the four-month long administrative detention of four Druze leaders was an abuse of the power to detain administratively, and released the men.

The most-touted overruling of state security grounds, when the High Court declared the Elon Moreh settlement near Nablus illegal, was no precedent for civil rights, contrary to popular opinion. As Gavison points out, the establishment of Elon Moreh for reasons of security was questioned from *within* the defence establishment and because of the internal disagreement of military heads, the court decided against it. This is unlikely to repeat itself.

However, chairperson Gavison said she hopes court reluctance to intervene will change: "If we have a number of such cases, maybe we can persuade more people that they should look more closely into the case of 'security.'"

Since the occupation began, Palestinians have been ambivalent about using Israeli courts to seek redress for injustices. The gains have been in delays and publicity, with little concrete to show for the effort. Ruth sighs in sympathy: "It is very tiring to go to court and it's very expensive. These are important cases (administrative detention, house demolitions, forced exile), but unless the injustice is very clear, I think it might be counter-productive. Most people are tired." But still, Gavison believes in the legal system: "I will tell them yes, go, whenever you can. Our chances are greater when we show the High Court that these cases are not just one here, one there, but a more general problem."

She admits there would probably be many losses for Palestinians and that "the courts could respond by saying: 'We are legitimising what you are complaining about and we are giving it a legal cloak.'"

Palestinians may have stronger cases when they sue for compensation for civil damages caused them through no fault of their own — a bystander shot by a settler, for example. But the concept of damage suits is a Western one, and not likely to be used, even for political reasons, by Palestinians.

Gavison personally believes 'that Israeli settlers in the West Bank and Gaza should be tried under the same law as Palestinian residents. "But," she says matter-of-factly, "there is a system at work where settlers are tried under Israeli law." Palestinians, on the other hand, are governed by a complex legal system — a combination of public international law, pre-1967 Jordanian law and Israeli military orders. "No collective punishment is ever enforced on the Jewish sector — there are no curfews there.

The sentences for stone throwers at Bir Zeit University (18 months imprisonment) was much more than anything given settlers." The general picture, according to lawyer Gavison, "suggests some inequality in applying the laws."

But what it the source of the inequality? Is it systematic? Gavison hops along on pebbles in deep water: "I don't think there is instruction to that effect, but I think the evidence may suggest that it is not just coincidental." The Karp report, a justice ministry committee report documenting settler vigilantism, indicated, newspapers reported, that there were differences in investigating violence done to Arabs from violence done to Jews. "There is much less concern about the security of the Arab population than of the Jewish population. We think this is unacceptable from a civil rights point of view and should be corrected," the ACRI chairperson stated.

Gavison carefully circumscribes the mandate of the organisation: "We deal with civil and political rights of the people in the West Bank — the right to associate, to publish newspapers, to demonstrate. We are not dealing with what Israel does in these territories."

As an organisation, the ACRI does not take what it calls 'political positions." It does not have a stand on the legality of the occupation, "or whatever you want to call it," says Gavison with studied legal delicacy. "We wouldn't like to preempt the issues by adopting a name. We definitely wouldn't call them liberated. We call them administered, or occupied, depending on the context. This is the neutral term for this kind of situation."

The prolonged "situation," according to even liberal Israeli legal minds, itself forces an "inevitable cost in civil rights terms." Although Gavison — and many others — believes there is a probability that Israeli law will be applied in the West Bank and Gaza, in effect annexing the territories, she acknowledges that the current status is best for Israel: "It is preferable for the government to be able to say that these people (West Bank and Gaza Palestinians) are not residents of Israel than to say they should have all the rights and privileges that residents have."

Success and Defeats

On censorship:

"The law permits a lot of censorship. We have a special task force for preparing a bill on a new censorship arrangement. It probably won't succeed, primarily because the Jewish press doesn't suffer that much from censorship and it is not keen on changing the current situation.

"We have tried to investigate the kind of material that has been censored. Our position is that there is no real justification for much of the material that is being censored. We are trying to meet with the military censor to discuss the censorship criteria applied. We are also on record for the abolishment of a banned books list."

On administrative detention cases:

"The Golan case was an important precedent. Administrative detention changed in 1979 from the British Defence Emergency Regulation (1945) to Israeli law. Since then there has been no long-term administrative detention. But the authorities are using restriction (of movement) orders.

"We suspect that many of the pretrial detentions (18-day pick-ups - ed.) are really harassment, just ways of limiting liberties.

"We've asked the attorney general and so far have not received an answer — to issue directives to the police about the use of the power to detain for 48 hours. We used to go to the supreme court when people were held and get their release. The police got around this by releasing people a few hours before the 48-hour period ended... and rearresting them..."

On Ansar detention camp in South Lebanon:

"We had a meeting with the attorney general and chief military prosecuting attorney and they promised to speed up review procedures so more people can be released.

"We are not happy with what is being done there."

On torture of prisoners:

"The ACRI endorsed the Amnesty International demand for an independent body to look at such complaints. The authorities refused."

On the ACRI's working relationship with the authorities:

"First, we are answered, very promptly and very well. We make progress, we are taken into account. We are invited to give evidence to committees dealing with subjects of civil rights. We monitor, for example, legislative debates about the proposed Bill of Rights for Israel. We are invited to Knesset committees dealing with laws having civil rights implications. We litigate in the High Court with some success."

On ACRI's effect:

"In the last few years, for the first time, we have become noticed when we take something like civil rights on the West Bank, free expression, the right to demonstrate... We could have a full load in the West Bank only. The complaints of non-Jews that we deal with are about 30 percent of our general load."

Below, 'The Right to Demonstrate' from an ACRI publication detailing Israeli law as it applies to demonstrations.

Permit for Demonstrations

The law requires a permit for only two kinds of gatherings:

1) a march — 50 persons or more marching together or gathering in order to march from place to place, whether they are moving or not whether they are organised or not,

2) a meeting or gathering — 50 persons or more who gather in order to hear a speech or lecture on a political subject or in order to discuss a similar subject.

Silent rotating protest in which placards are held without a march does not need a permit. A gathering of less than 50 does not need a permit. There is no need for a permit for a protest in which there is no speech, discussion or march.

In the Knesset there was a special debate about whether there should be a need for a permit for any demonstration.

It should be indicated that sometimes police disperse a demonstration that does not need a permit under the pretext that it needs one. The ACRI is trying to improve the situation. An application for a permit requires sending a letter to the Israeli police or tothe commander of a district in which the march/meeting is supposed to be organised. The application should be sent 5 days before the scheduled date of the march or meeting. The commander can give a permit as required, refuse to give it, or put conditions on it. He can even cancel a permit which was already given.

Regarding refusal of the commander to give a permit, to put restrictions on it or to cancel it, one can appeal to the High Court.

Illegal Gathering

Demonstrations are often organised through the gathering of a number of people. The gathering can be illegal:

1) if it requires a permit and then is organised without one,

2) if it obtains a permit and then conditions of it are violated.

A gathering of three or more which is legal can *become* illegal:

3) if there is a reasonable basis to fear that those who gather may violate order,

4) if there is a reasonable basis to fear that the gathering may provoke others to violate order without good reason.

The mere existence of a silent demonstration does not provoke others to violate order. The police are obliged to protect the demonstrators against attacks and harassment; therefore, the possibility that others might harass the demonstrators cannot be an excuse to make the gathering illegal, but if there is actual harassment against the gatherers, and the police cannot distinguish between the demonstrators and outsiders, the gathering can become illegal.

Dispersion

The police has the power to break up an illegal gathering in the event that those who gather were asked to disperse and they do not abide by the order.

The police is not empowered to break up or disperse a legal gathering.

Arrests

The police is entitled to arrest people who commit an offense. Violent conduct, taking part in illegal gatherings and interfering with police are violations.The police is now empowered to arrest a person who did not commit an offense, eg a person who did not take part in an illegal gathering.

Is it "legal" to raise the Palestinian flag? ACRI comments.

Symbolic Freedom of Expression

Public displays of support for terrorist organizations are prohibited by the Prevention of Terror Ordinance of 1949, as amended in 1980. The PLO has been declared such an organization. Lately, the police have been prosecuting those who raise the Palestinian flag, or even those who carry posters with the colors of the flag. Some authorities even claim that it is an offense to hold or wear the emblem of the Israel-Palestine Council. The emblem shows the Israeli and Palestinian flags interwoven. The ACRI has adopted the position that under the present law the wearing of the Israel-Palestine emblem is not clearly an offence, while the raising of the Palestinian flag (e.g., as a show of support for the national cause of the Palestinians), is not necessarily an offence. It is an offense only if it is intended to express support for the PLO, and this must be proven in each specific case. It is questionable, in addition, whether the law -- even under this narrow interpretation -- is consistent with the democratic commitment to freedom of expression.

COOPERATIVES IN ISLAMIC SOCIETIES

by Adnan Obeidat

The cultural-civilisational environment in which Islam rose, grew and prospered in Egypt and in the Arab Peninsula, began, according to available historical evidence, as long ago as BC 3000, when cooperative guilds were formed by craftsmen in ancient Egypt. This indicates the existence of a nucleus of organised group activities.

In Yemen, too, an ancient civilisation was established before the Christian era. This civilisation was symbolised by the building of the great Ma'rab Dam, which helped in the irrigation of land through a complex and well-developed system of canals. This also shows that agricultural organisations existed in Arab society before Islam.

The holy town of Mecca was an important international centre for trade and commerce, with successful business links spreading out north towards the Fertile Crescent and south to India and the shores of Africa.

While states may differ in their political systems and economic doctrines, they meet and agree on the subject of cooperation. In this sphere, states may well differ in their socio-economic theories and philosophies, but as far as practice is concerned they tend to behave in the same way. This is the reason why the cooperative system has proved able to attain various degrees of success in countries whose ideologies and social systems are at variance.

Islam stresses the principle of equality of opportunities and lays down the promise of justice for all. In the words of the holy Qoran : "The noblest of you, in the sight of Allah, is the best in conduct." (13:49).

Islam has a comprehensive, harmonious and complementary philosophy concerning the world, life and man. Life does not consist of bread and bodily needs alone; side by side with the material values, man has to have spiritual ones. Worldly values have to be complemented by religious values. Islam is at once a religion of prayer as well of human dealings.

Islam is both a religion and a practical way of life. It is not a religion of abstract missionary preaching, hanging in the air of ideals.

The basis of Islam is cooperation and togetherness.

Islam affirms the principle of human equality. The sense of equality springs from man s innermost feelings, together with the awakening of the human conscience to the meaning of liberation from all forms of servitude. It is this that leads to a consciousness of human equality in origin and in fate, in life and in death, in rights and in obligations, before the law and before God. Thus Islam's concept of equality is complete and is free even from religious considerations, not to speak of tribal or ethnic ones.

Islam affirms full equality between the sexes; it decreed preferential treatment only in cases pertaining to physiological aptitude and in fields in which responsibility falls on one of them -- but never in cases affecting the human status of man and woman.

Islam affirms the principle of social solidarity and lays down the premise of mutual aid between the individual and their next of kin, between the individual and society, between one nation and other nations, and between successive generations: '...man hath only that for which he maketh effort. And...his effort will be seen." (53:39-40). In the sphere of the family as a social, psychological and biological entity, Islam affirms the sacredness of this group as the foremost foundation of the society. The preservation of the interests of the body social depend on the preservation of five attributes: the self, the mind, the offspring, the faith and property. The idea is that an individual s mental well-being is not something exclusively his own, and it is thus society's duty to preserve the individual's sanity which is considered one of its foundations. This is why Islam prohibits alcoholic drinks. The Islamic *umma* (nation) is one of a piece one body.

In Islam, mercy is the foundation of true belief because it is a proof of the impact on the conscience of religious teachings. Mercy in Islam embraces not only man but includes all creatures and everything that breathes. This is an indication of the necessity of cooperation and of true human solidarity unencumbered by any limits or bars and free from all bigotry, not excluding that based on religious grounds.

In Islam, property belongs to the group as a whole; private possession is to be respected but should be turned over to the public weal when it is deemed necessary to do so. Islam is adverse to making property a monopoly of the rich, being handed from father to children. The Prophet said, "People share three things: water, grass and fire" on the ground that they are public property and essential for the life of the community.

Cooperation has two senses: one literal, traditional and old, and the other economic and modern. The principles of Islam were first put into practice some 14 centuries ago. Both from the moral and organisational points of view, cooperation began in the East on the inspiration of the Islamic mission. This is clear from the following facts.

1. *Savings*: Cooperatives have to follow a policy of saving in order to achieve progress and prosperity for their members. Islam was wise in advocating this principle of saving. As the Qoran decrees: "And let not thy hand be chained to thy neck nor open it with a complete opening, lest thou sit down rebuked, denuded." (17:29).

2. *Publicity*: The cooperative movement grants every cooperative member the right to know everything connected with his cooperative its finances, its decisions, etc. -- so as to participate in its affairs. This is in contrast to what goes on in capitalist firms and commercial concerns, where secrecy is part and parcel of their nature. Islam took care to assert this aspect. The Prophet Mohammad used to consult with the Muslims (a general assembly' so to speak) and inform them on every affair.

3. *Open-Door Membership (Freedom)*: Islam sowed the seeds of freedom, which grew and gave fruit to cooperative movements all over the world. Islam uses a very strong hand against monopolies, cartels and speculators. The Calif Omar said, in all candour: "Wherefore have you enslaved people when they are born free?" The Prophet says, with reference to non-Muslims living under Islam: "They have the same obligations as ourselves and they enjoy the same rights."

4. *Unity*: This is one of the important premises of cooperation. A cooperative society consists not of one individual but of members who are united and who are joined by solidarity and an alignment of effort and they have a common goal. Islam too calls for union and unity; the Prophet s *hadith* counsels: "Unite in a group! The wolf preys only on lone sheep."

5. *Democracy in Administration*: Islam calls on all the believers to embrace the principle of justice. It decrees: "None of you can be a true believer unless he would want for his fellow men what he wants for himself." And the Prophet says: "People are equal -- like the teeth of a comb. '

6. *Returns* : Returns are that part of the net profit which is paid to clients in direct proportion to the volume of their dealings, especially in consumer cooperative societies. These returns are often paid with a view to improving the members' socio-economic status. There are cooperatives which seek to provide various health and social services. In Islam, *zakat* (alms) takes the place of returns. According to the holy Qoran: "In their wealth the beggar and the outcast had due share.' (51:19). *Zakat* is usually spent on social welfare, but it passes the bounds of the cooperatives' returns in that it does not depend on the availability of profit but must be paid when a certain minimum (income) is reached. This minimum, measured on the basis of gold, amounts to about $150, but measured in silver, it is no more than about $35.

Islam concentrated its efforts on curbing individualistic urges in order to incorporate them into constructive action.

7. *Cash Sales*: Islam favours dealings in cash so that the individual may avoid the burden and domineering of those who sell on credit and also to save the purchaser the financial confusion, the exorbitant profits and the interest entailed in such purchases.

8. *Education*: Certain theoreticians of the cooperative movement in modern times have made provisions for allotting a slice of the cooperatives' profits for purposes of education, to support, encourage and develop it. Islam, too, advocates education very strongly. The Prophet Mohammad has a famous *hadith* : "Seek ye knowledge, even (if it has to be) in China! '

9. *Religious, Political and Racial Tolerance*: Islam advocates these principles and practices them. Among the Prophet's well known sayings is one which lays down that "In (matters of) religion, coercion is forbidden. ' Again: "The Arab has no advantage over a non-Arab except righteousness and good deeds." He also said: "Observe your own faith and let me observe mine!" Islam's first *muezzin*, the man who calls the faithful to prayer, was a negro who was known as Balal the Negro, while there are cooperatives in the West today which refuse to grant membership to coloured people. There are also certain advanced societies which practice racial discrimination.

Right from the beginning of its mission, Islam concentrated its efforts on curbing individualistic urges and on taming them in order to harmonise and incorporate them into organised, constructive and meaningful action. Islam also paid special attention to eliminating tribal and nationalistic bigotries, as many of the Prophet's own sayings show. It is well known that the cooperative movement rejects individualism and egoistic urges and bigotries in order to build the ideal Islamic society.

Part II of "Cooperatives in Islamic Societies" will appear next week.

Below is a table showing a chronology of cooperative societies in the Arab countries, as well as legislation, laws or ordinances pertaining to the first such societies. The table also lists the year in which the first cooperative unions were established in each of these countries. Source: Information on Cooperation *The World Labour Organisation, Number 3, 1971.*

Serial Number	Country	First Cooperative Established in Year	First Cooperative Law	First Cooperative Union
1	Palestine	1878 (Petah Tikva)	1920	1923
2	Algeria	1901	1893	
3	Tunisia	1905	1907	1937
4	Egypt	1908 (Omar Lutfi)	1914	
5	Libya	1915	1956	
6	Jordan	1922	1952	1959
7	Morocco	1922	1922	1930
8	Iraq	1930	1944	
9	Lebanon	1937	1941	1968
10	Syria	1943 (Dir Atiyya	1950	1967
11	Sudan	1947	1948	1967
12	South Yemen	1959	1961	1968
13	Saudi Arabia	1961	1962	
14	Kuweit	1961	1962	
15	North Yemen	1965	1971	

LOVER OF JAFRA AND GRAPES OF HEBRON

Iz al-Din al-Manasrah

POETRY ON POETRY

by Mohammed Ali Taha

Iz al-Din Manasrah's poetry has the taste of Hebron's grapes and the acridity of green Galilee thyme. No one can say they know the world of this Palestinian poet if they have not burned sage as incense to Jafra (1), or squeezed Hebron grapes into wine in the glases of Canaan (2), or sung "Oh... You, the elegant tallness (3)... You rely on Um Ali Nasrawiyya (4), who ululates at the wedding of Usama Ibn Munqeth and Bajes Abu Atwan." From his first collection, *Oh, Grapes of Hebron*, 1968, the courageous artistic poet chants his words, expressions the literary world recognised, and rhymes in a deep breath standing on top of a mountain overlooking the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean Sea together. In addition, you can almost hear him calling you: "Oh comrades, your way is mine and we both agree." (5)

The poet relates the story of his life briefly, saying:

I am Iz al-Din al-Manasrah
Descendant of the Canaanites
Captain of glass ships loaded
with Alphabets
I who planted the bomb
Jafra who died at the shore
of Acre
She is my sister
And they donate the truth is
said millions
So as to continue the revolution
My blood is running as a waterfall
In the wounds of the land
I don't complain
For not complaining to "Bani
Na'im (6) is submission

He says in his collection entitled *Nobody Will Understand Me Except the Olives*

A child I came from a village
Called "Bani Na'im"
Located between the sadness
and the whip

From here we enter the world of Iz al-Din al-Manasrah, rightly guided with those magic keys: "Descendant of the Canaanites," "I planted the bomb," "Jafra" and "Bani Na'im."

Iz al-Din al-Manasrah recounts:

"I started understanding Canaanism from my readings of Palestinian history and the Canaanite-Palestinian ruins. I live in a poetic state and am not a chauvinist political fanatic. I believe in the progression of history and this is a Marxist issue, which means that the human being is not born suddenly with a perfect character but he passes through stages of development. The Palestinians are not without original roots but they are connected with a deep-rooted civilisation that still exists. We are still speaking some Canaanite words. The names of our Palestinian villages are Canaanite. Why should we abandon the relationship with the Canaanite heritage?"

The poet has dealt with the Canaanite heritage since his first collection, *Oh, Grapes of Hebron*, published in Cairo in 1968, during his university studies. His poem "From the Canaanites' Songs" reveals an 'Arab voice.' We also read in the same collection a verse entitled "Identification Certificates: Canaanite Engravings," in which he says:

I saw sadness in the face
of the ruins
The cock was playing on it
And the twisted tress in the
silent night shout
Ask the ruins about my
grandfather's traces
Under it all the identification
certificates
They engraved it
In the rocks covered by wind
in the core of the soil
And you say that the symbol
is in a far valley
One day
Both the engraving and my
grandfather will be born
again

And in a poem called "Elegy to a Canaanite Poet," from the same collection, he says:

I was proud as the firm
mountain
I walked miles
The rain was dazzling and the
wind was northern
Rain of promise meeting with
those who died
Rain from us nourished
A breath of an Arabic wind
Came from the sand of the coast
And I threw bombs
In order to reach the wounded
western sea
Birds were coming and leaving
Were singing:
"Gaza" Oh, my home
"Gaza" my song... Gaza...
my poems.

Canaan is a revolutionary, Canaan is an Arab, Canaan is proud as a firm mountain, and he carries the land certificate (*tabu*) and says: Oh, Iz al-Din, this is your home.

In his poem "Memoirs of the Dead Sea," from his collection titled *The Exit from the Dead Sea*, 1970, the poet informs us about his grandfather -- Canaan. He says:

My grandfather Canaan
He reads only composed poetry
Sometimes he plays chess
Sleeps with the ministers' wives
My grandmother
She is from an Assyrian *origin*
But she pretends that she is
Hexosian
And that she was grazing the
cows in Syria's desert
My grandfather Canaan was
white as a maggot
He was hunting the pigeons
in Jerusalem's wilderness
He met the nun with the long
nose
The glossy hair
The smooth legs
The red face
And the heavy eyebrows
The nun laughed
Until his muscles relaxed
Threw her delicate body on him
Then he told her "take what-
ever you want from the
earth.

The poet does not forget his "Canaan" in his third collection, *The Moon of Jarash Was Sad*, 1979. In his poem "Condolences Accepted in Any Exile," 1970, he laments martyr Ghassan Kanafani:

Beirut declares: "Canaan
is dead"
or "Then say he has already
gone, Canaan has gone."

But in his collection entitled *Nobody Will Understand Me Except the Olives*, 1976, the poet mentions the "Canaanite women" more than once. He says:

The Canaanite women have
blonde plaits
The russet henna on the
cheekbones
The green almonds planted
in the eyes.

In his poem "The Blood of Ramallah on Walls in Beirut," 1975, the poet refers to all Canaanites:

The lotus trees come loaded with
the Canaanites' perfume, the Canaanites
harness the horses on the coast, build
ramparts on the plains from Naqura
until the sands of Sinai. The Canaanite
women come praying on the mountain,
wet with fathers' tears, wounded by the
enemy's sword

The poet draws an image when he writes:

They saw the moon in a child's
form, riding a green mare... One of the
women said "red." The hands of the
Canaanite women clapped for the moon
coming from Beirut, from Naqura until
the sand. But the child came towards
the streets of Ramallah screaming — I
have chosen you among the brides of
my land.

In his sixth collection, *Jafra*, we read the Canaanite women's anthem. We know then that Jafra, who Canaan had met in the poetry collection *Nobody Will Understand Me Except the Olives*, had already loved him. The love nested in his heart. He became mad in his love. Canaan had already become crazy for Jafra.

Jafra whom everybody loved, Jafra who was grazing herds at the foot of the mountains, gathering herbs and flowers, Jafra who was planting and plucking out, mowing and gathering Jafra for whom we sang with the "Ah's" of the flute, the organ and *al-mijwez* (shepherd's pipe), that beautiful one is a sister, lover, wife and homeland for Iz al-Din al-Manasrah. He chants for her, praises her and prays over her.

We meet her for the first time in his collection *Nobody Will Understand Me Except the Olives*. In his very beautiful poem "Jafra Sent Me Grapevines and Gems" (which Marcel Khalifeh has put to music), Manasrah says of Jafra's travelling:

Who doesn't love Jafra, let
him hang himself
Who doesn't know Jafra, let
him bury himself
Who doesn't shoot his bullet
for Jafra's sake
Let him drink the red-poisoned
glass... wither
Fall... and die...

(Translation: Al Ittihad, April 1983, by Mouhib Abu Sirrieh)

Footnotes:

1) Jafra is a revolutionary symbol for a Palestinian woman freedom fighter.

2) Iz al-Din al-Manasrah always refers in his poetry to Canaanites, the Arab tribe which lived in Palestine. This reference is part of the poet's artistic way of expressing the culture and heritage of Palestine.

3) Elegant tallness is a phrase used in popular folk songs.

4) Um Ali Nasrawiyyah is a symbol referring to Palestinian women. Bajes Abu Atwan and Usama Ben Munqeth are Palestinian fighters who were killed in Hebron in clashes with Israeli soldiers in the early 1970s.

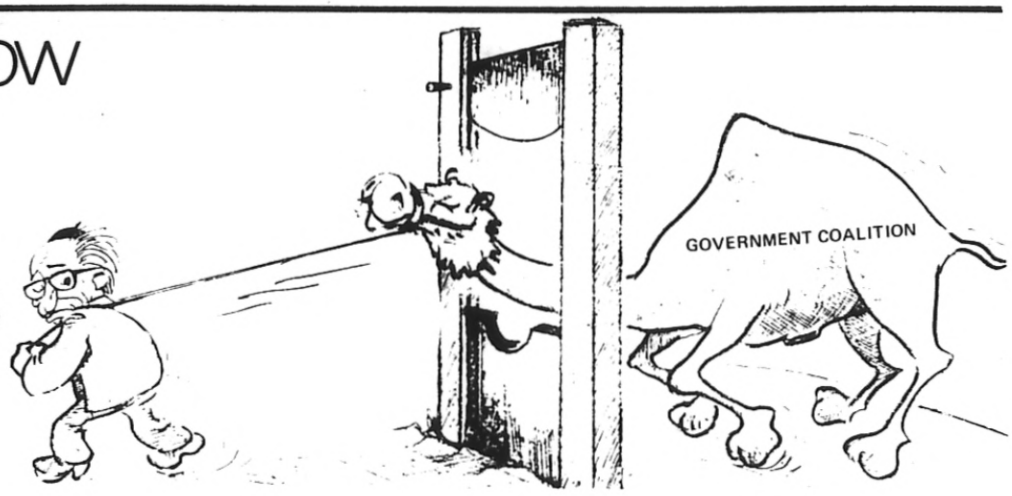
5) The poet always talks about Palestine as between the two seas, and his comrades in the struggle.

6) Bani Na'im is a village in Hebron district, a base for fighters during the British Mandate.

7) A popular singer.

عاشق جفرا وعنب الخليل

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The renewal of fighting between the Lebanese nationalist fighters and the Kata'eb and pro-government elements occupied the front pages of the papers in the occupied territories this week. They also reported on the involvement of the multinational forces in the current fighting in Beirut.

Front page articles and special editorials were published about the Geneva Conference on the Question of Palestine.

On the Israeli scene, the Palestinian papers reported on Begin's resignation.

Escape attempts from Ansar detention camp and the injury of four detainees was reported as heavily as conditions allow.

Lebanon The Mountain

When Robert McFarlane took over from Philip Habib the onerous task of trying to bring peace to the Middle East, he was optimistic and enthusiastic; he expected to succeed where Habib had failed, particularly since Damascus had not closed the door in his face and instead gave him the chance to hold intensive negotiations with President Assad.

The nature of Syrian-US talks will remain unknown for some time because the Syrian regime is a devotee of the attitude prevalent among other Arabs as well: shrouding it's real policy in secrecy, behind a facade of brilliantly hued placards and slogans. They feed the public tidbits of information, in official handouts, that can barely satisfy their thirst for news.

Damascus gave the impression that it held many of the cards in the game, and there is no doubt that Syria's role in exacerbating the rift within Fatah ranks and demanding a price for its withdrawal from Lebanon were among the topics of discussion between Assad and McFarlane.

But later, with Damascus fanning the flames, McFarlane began to scale down his mission in the Middle East, which had been primarily to orchestrate a withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon. His task has now shrunk to the engineering of a safe entry of Lebanese army forces to the Shouf mountains in the wake of the Israeli withdrawal.

Why is the US losing steam now and why is it bent on reducing its objectives?

Are we back to step-by-step diplomacy, or is this an indication of the US's determination to back out of the Middle East, quietly and gradually? What is Syria's role in this new development?

AL QUDS
August 25

Tactical Wit awal

An exhausted Israel is getting ready to pull back in Lebanon after having wallowed for so long in the Lebanese morass and after having provided the Phalangists with passage into parts of Lebanon they had never dreamed of setting foot in prior to the Israeli invasion.

The Gemayel regime wants to replace the Israeli army in order to implement its plans to liquidate the nationalist forces in Lebanon, a process that began after the evacuation of Palestinian forces from Beirut.

The Phalangist pledge that they are ready to evacuate their forces from the mountains carries no weight, since the army that will replace them is merely another regiment of the fascist Phalangist army — and this enhances the prospects of the outbreak of another round in the smouldering Lebanese civil war.

The threats and dangers besetting the Lebanese people should act to draw them close together if they are interested in paying more than lip service to the independence of their country and to retaining its Arab nature. They must unite to escalate their fight against the isolationist regime confronting them.

AL SHAAB
August 26

Local Councils

The local (municipal) councils in our country have always represented our most cherished and most important national institution, working tirelessly for the best interests of our people and catering to our daily needs.

The occupation authorities realised the potential of the local councils and tried to extend their sway over them. There were elections in 1972 and 1976, and the Israeli government tried to interfere in the latter because the results were other than it expected; nationalist forces were able to elect to office a strong cadre of dedicated public servants.

It was not long before the Israeli authorities began to clash with the heads of our elected local councils, ousting some, deporting others, isolating still more and replacing them with people of all sorts.

The result was an acrimonious confrontation which led to a strike by all West Bank and Gaza Strip muncipalities which has deteriorated to the current impasse.

The state of attrition shows no signs of ending as long as the Israeli military government keeps trying to control the municipalities and as long as the outraged masses in the occupied lands insist on the right to govern themselves by themselves.

The Israeli authorities have now adopted a wilier gambit; they are trying to cultivate some public service employees to run the local councils, in defiance of the will of the masses and in violation of their right to elect their own officers.

We demand the restoration of this inalienable right and consider it a fundamental aspect of our existence in our own country.

We denounce all those transparent attempts by the Israeli occupation authorities to create these so-called committees, which will only compound Israel's mistakes and misjudgement.

We emphasise the need for our people to retain their natural right to choose their own local government and look after their own interests.

AL FAJR
August 29

Good Riddance !

The pressing urgency at this historic moment is to force the Begin government to resign and prevent the Likud from holding the reigns of power. This must be the overriding concern of the democratic struggle.

If it is not possible by law to form a government without the Likud, or in opposition to it, then the only way out would be to dissolve the Knesset and call for new elections.

The attitude of the Labour Alignment, which prefers to be as silent as the grave, does not help the smaller political groupings in the present coalition to consider other alernatives or change sides.

The Jewish and Arab consciences demand that the Begin regime go: good riddance!

AL ITTIHAD
August 30

If They Fail...

Yasir Arafat's message to the Geneva Conference points an accusing finger at the US, which has opposed the conference and vetoed resolutions on the Palestinian cause.

It reinforces the belief that it is on this quarter that pressure should be applied in the pursuit of a just and permanent peace in the area.

The US, with its hostility towards the Palestinian people and its blind allegiance to Israel, has contributed enormously to the complication besetting the Palestinian problem since its inception decades ago. And it was aided and abetted in this inhuman and immoral task by leaders of the so-called 'moderate' Arab regimes, who, in their ignorance or neglect, have played into the hands of the Americans.

Will the Geneva Conference on the Question of Palestine succeed where many others before it failed? Will it be able to stop the US dead in its tracks? Will there be any peace in this part of the world?

AL FAJR
August 30

Uniformed burglers raid Hebron shop

Two armed men in Israeli army uniforms broke into Mujahed Jewelry store in the Bab al-Zawiyah quarter, Hebron, August 29, at 6:00 pm, but were stopped by shop owner Abd al-Hamid Mujahed, 50.

The owner and his nephew partner Abd al-Rahim Mujahed, 32, were sitting at their counters when two masked men, one carrying an US-made rifle, and the other holding a pistol, entered the shop and demanded the goods.

Abd al-Rahim Mujahed told *Al Fajr* that one of the men had trouble keeping his mask up. "The robber spoke to me in broken Arabic asking for all my jewelry and money. He ordered us to stand with our hands up. My uncle at that moment knocked the other man down by grabbing him by the neck." During the scuffle, one robber hit the older man on the head with the butt of his gun and the second robber shot at him, but the bullet missed, hitting only the shop sign.

The two robbers escaped on Faisal Street in their white BMW, licence number 21782.

Mustafa Natshe, the deposed acting-mayor of Hebron, told *Al Fajr*: "This is an act of robbery. It could have been committed by armed Village Leaguers or Israelis."

US Diplomat Gets UNRWA Post

Robert Dillon, United States Ambassador to Lebanon, has been named as the next Deputy Commissioner-General of UNRWA. He is expected to take office by the end of this year. He will succeed Deputy Commissioner-General Alan Brown, a former British ambassador, who is due to retire from UNRWA after five years' service at the end of January 1984.

Dillon has been US Ambassador to Lebanon since 1981. He had previously served as deputy chief of mission and minister-counsellor in Cairo and Ankara, and deputy chief of mission in Kuala Lumpur. He has also served in Italy and Venezuela. Dillon was slightly injured in the mysterious bombing of his Beirut embassy in early 1983.

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Begin

policy. The statement outlined prospects for the new government which should seek immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon and work for achieving Israeli-Palestinian peace, based on recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel.

Begin first revealed his intention to quit political life during Sunday's cabinet meeting discussion of the seemingly unsolvable dispute over economic policy in the coalton. The decision raised a storm of opposition from the cabinet. All ministers urged Begin to reconsider the decision. During the following day, coalition partners tried to convince him to back off from his decision. At this time, local and foreign observers were skeptical about the seriousness of Begin's announcement. Some foreign papers went as far as saying that Begin was manoeuvering for public support.

Begin, however, remained determined. The only thing cabinet members succeeded in achieving was to get the Israeli premier to postpone submitting his resignation to the president, Chaim Hertzog, for a few days in order to allow Herut ministers to nominate a new prime minister to lead the Likud coalition.

Most Western reports have ignored the economic and political crises which triggered Begin's decision, preferring to concentrate on the premier's health and state of mind. His growing problems have arisen since the invasion of Lebanon last year. Other observers believe the inconclusive attack on Lebanon is at the root of Begin's demise.

At the same time, Israeli troops in Lebanon are facing an on-going war of attrition. The official Israeli death count is now around 517, with just under 3000 wounded. The growing number of Israeli casualties gave way to popular opposition groups to the war, where there are more than four groups advocating resistance to continued Israeli occupation of Lebanon.

Arab reaction to Begin's resignation varied from one capitol to another. Israel TV quoted Jordanian officials as saying that Begin's resignation would make chances for the Reagan plan better.

Farouq Kaddoumi, chairman of the political department of the PLO who is heading the Palestinian Organisation's delegation to the UN Conference on the Question of Palestine, now in session in Geneva, told reporters that Begin's resignation is "an indication of the failure of the adventurist policy demonstrated by the Israeli government."

Kaddoumi pointed out that Begin is the "latest victim of the invasion of Lebanon." He stressed, however, that he does not believe that Israeli policy after Begin will undergo change.

In Egypt, Minister of Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali told United Press International that the resignation is an internal Israeli matter. He, however, reiterated that he hopes "the change in Israeli leadership will not affect the peace treaty."

Begin's resignation, which has brought to an end his second term in office, gave way to internal strife within the ruling Likud coalition. Early reports from the behind-the-scenes talks revealed the coalition is finding it difficult to patch up rifts.

According to Israel-watchers, Shamir is relying on the support of the remaining six Herut ministers, against his rival David Levy. Levy, on the other hand, is seeking support from the party's central committee. The deputy premier had allegedly rejected advice from his colleagues not to push to contest to an undignified extreme by taking it to the party floor.

Levy gained a political victory, August 31, when it was announced the 900-member central committee would vote on the leadership. The result of the vote was announced after *Al Fajr*'s censorship deadline.

Whatever the outcome of the vote there will still be a hustle for placesin the reshuffled cabinet. Despite a Levy-Shamir concordat that ministerial positions be frozen, coaltiion partners are jittery. The National Religious Party's education minister Zeveulun Hammer told reporters, August 31, that "division of portfolios should be discussed with his party." Other NRP people spoke of greater flexibility.

Inside the Likud there has been internal criticism of suggestions that Liberal Yitzhak Moda'i, presently minister of energy, replace Yoram Aridor at the finance ministry, despite the two leadership candidates' announcements.

Whatever the outcome, observers say, the objective problem will remain.Tami leader Aharon Abuhatzira told reporters that he will demand a change in the government's economic policy. The new leader will also have to make tough decisions on the Lebanon. The US has so far managed to persuade Begin to keep Israeli troops in place in the Shouf despite local pressure to get them out.

Perhaps the easiest option for the Likud would be early elections. In a run-up period, ministerial positions are frozen and no confidence votes cannot be tabled.

ISRAELI WOUNDED IN QALQILIYA

Israel Radio reported, August 27, that an Israeli was wounded, late at night August 26, when the car in which he was travelling was fired upon as it approached Qalqiliya, in the north of the West Bank. A partial curfew was imposed on the region and several people were arrested. They were released the same night.

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Land Acquisition

claration to submit evidence to the objections committee within 30 days. Those who failed to offer acceptable evidence to that committee were deprived of their property.

Another method of acquiring land in the West Bank was ordinary confiscation for public purposes. The Israelis expanded Jordanian law on this subject and utilised its provisions to acquire large amounts of land, particularly for building the roads and infrastructures necessary for the settlements. Israeli courts had already ruled, even in Jerusalem, that the re-building of the Jewish quarter there, for exclusive Jewish settlement, was a legitimate public purpose in Israel.

Another method for acquiring property is the famous "security purpose." Under the guise of military necessity and security needs, large areas of private property were confiscated, some of which was used for setting up army camps and training grounds for the military. Large portions,however, were simply turned over to the civilian Jewish settlers. In the Beit El decision, the Israeli High Court ruled that exclusively Jewish civilian settlements can and do form part of the security network in the West Bank and that confiscating private Arab property for building Jewish civilian settlement is legal and permitted, if security is the predominant consideration. Much of the fertile property in the Jordan Valley, adjacent to the Jordanian border, was confiscated in this manner.

In addition to all the above, several changes were introduced into the land law of the West Bank to enable the private purchasing of land directly from the Arabs. While the areas of land so purchased are minimal, they have created quite a stir. This is because there was a lot of graft, forgery, intimidation and violence, as well as legal trickery, involved in these land deals. The straightforward provisions for voluntary sales of property under Jordanian law were altered and the new atmosphere of secrecy opened the way for such a degree of legal shenanegans that even the Israeli authorities complained about this in the Hebrew press.

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Reflections

castles, from the hilltops around Jerusalem? But what do they think of the Israelis who increasingly come to the West Bank to protest against the settlement policy? Some 8000 of these Israelis took the government by surprise on Independence Day by rallying on a hill overlooking Muslim Nablus, where a new city was to be inaugurated -- destined, according to the Beginites, to be to Nablus what Tel Aviv has become to what was once the neighbouring Arab city of Jaffa.

Palestinians can hardly realise the extraordiany nature of such a demonstration, for which the heart of the old Zionism, the kibbutzim, mobilised their members. The last time I met the man who now describes it to me, he was a colonel in the Israeli army, close to Dayan, with a distinguished record in the Suez war...For such people to face Israeli forces in defence of Arab land is as astonishing as to see, say, Harold Macmillian at Greenham Common. It symbolises the profundity of the crisis in Israel itself. But what do the Arabs make of it?

How can you tell? For evident reasons, even the Palestinian intellectuals and professionals among whom I move on the West Bank, expect the worse from Israelis. Trust and friendship are given only to the smallish band, mainly left-wingers, who demonstrate their practical belief in equal rights for Arab and Jew. Few on the West Bank have met such Jews.

Fortunately Ramallah has seen them, and taken them in, beaten and tear-gassed, after dispersal of a young Israeli demonstration of solidarity with the Arab university. Few Jews realise how much our good name will one day owe to the sight of Jews being beaten by Israeli soldiers because they defended Palestinian rights.

Two concluding memories.

Jericho. Two dead cities lie side by side. Next to the ruins of the oldest city recorded in human history, there is an empty refugee township crumbling into dust. It records the double exodus of how many in 1948 and 1967? Where are they now? It is not quite empty. A few clothes lines at the edges show signs of human life. I am told that trouble-makers are exiled to this memorial to the Joshuas of our century.

Jerusalem. I am being taken round the Armenian museum in the Old City. The curator stops before a set of photographs of Armenian villagers before the holocaust of 1915 -- Armenians know as much about genocide as Jews -- and of Turks posing beside decapitated and tortured bodies.

"I have a question," he says. "Tell me, how is it possible for one people not only to massacre others, but to glory in inflicting humiliation and pain?" While I grope for words to analyse the unspeakable, my companion, who sees himself as both Armenian and Palestinian, suggests an answer. "When one group of people think of another as less than full human beings, as not really human, anything becomes possible."

Who can deny it in these dark times and in this darkening place?

WEEKLY REVIEW

August 24, 1983

PRIVATE SCHOOLS ALSO OUT

JERUSALEM — Community colleges and private schools have fallen in line with military government-run schools in extending the summer school holidays a further month. Last week, the West Bank education department announced schools would reopen on October 2. Teachers are expected to report to work on September 25. The UNRWA Field Education office is still considering whether to follow suit or not.

The Musrara section of East Jerusalem, near Damascus Gate, is being torn up in order to replace the water pipe-lines. The upgrading of the system is suspected to be a ploy for the upcoming mayorial elections./JN

FINAL CURTAIN

JERUSALEM — The Palestinian Theatrical Arts Institute in Jerusalem, In 'Ada Rifaqi (If My Companion Returns), has decided to wind down its affairs for financial reasons.

GAZA EXPORTS

GAZA — Local agricultural societies have contracted to export 400 tons of strawberries, 200 tons of zuchinis, 10 tons of eggplants, and 14 tons of experimental products like potatoes and green peas, to east Europe.

CHECKPOINT GOES

NABLUS — The Israeli military outpost near the cemetery of the Balata refugee camp has been dismantled.

TEACHER OUSTED

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli officer responsible for education has notified Mohammed Odeh Rizk, headmaster of a Bethlehem school, of its decision to retire him. He has not reached retirement age, but will have to relinquish his post as of the beginning of the new scholastic year.

CLASSROOMS UP

YATTA — The town of Yatta, in the Hebron district, will have 16 new classrooms this year. Mayor Sheikh Abd al-Rahman Ajra said the new facilities are expected to fill a dire need to accommodate the large number of new students seeking enrollment each year. A contract has already been signed and work on the project has already started, he said. Ajra also said the municipality is inviting tenders to pave some 12,000 square metres of road in various parts of the town.

SPORTS CLUB POLLS REFUSED

TULKARM — The Israeli inspector of social affairs in the West Bank has refused to ratify the election of the new members of the administrative board of the Qalqiliya Sports Club.

PRISONERS SCARED

HEBRON — Palestinian prisoners being held in the Hebron jail are living in daily fear for their lives, according to reports reaching *Al Ittihad*.

The prisoners complain that their Israeli guards are treating them "almost like animals." They complain that they are being denied basic medical care and supplies, forced to sleep on the bare floor, prevented from listening to the radio or even receiving visitors. For the second month now, parents and relatives of the prisoners have not been allowed to see them.

The prisoners say they are considering taking their case up with the Supreme Court of Israel.

REFUGEE CAMP DESTROYED

JERUSALEM — Israeli army bulldozers have started demolishing the western Palestinian refugee camp in Rafah as part of the implementation of the government's master plan for the resettlement of the refugees. Reports say 12 houses built well before 1955 were totally destroyed. Residents believe this is the first stage of the Tel al-Sultan housing project, which aims at relocating them to an area west of the present camp.

ELECTION UNITY

ACRE — Acre's three Arab political groupings have decided to join forces and present a single list to ensure better Arab representation in the October municipal elections.

Sources said the formation of the new list has evoked favourable public response, and hopes are high that at least four of the candidates running for office will be elected.

August 25, 1983

PRISONER ILL

NAZARETH — Therese Helesah, the Palestinian commando who has been condemned to life imprisonment in Israel for hijacking a plane, appealed for permission to receive special treatment for unexplainable swellings over her body.

Her solicitor, Aziz Shehadeh of Nazareth, submitted an urgent request to prison authorities, in view of the deterioration in his client's health.

STUDENT HURDLES

GAZA — The Israeli education officer in Gaza has announced that the office will not be able to notarise English translations of transcripts of students' secondary school certificates, except on one day per week.

Students protest that this decision places further obstacles in their path and necessitates long delays in getting their papers in order.

NO SALE

GAZA — An 18-year-old Arab resident of Gaza was arrested for trying to bribe an Israeli soldier into selling the Arab his personal weapons for IS10,000.

DRUZE SOLIDARITY

JERUSALEM — Sheikh Amin Tarif, the spiritual head of Israel's Druze community, has warned the government of Israel of the possibility of a blood-bath in the Shouf mountains when Israel begins withdrawing its forces from the area.

Tarif said Israel would be held directly responsible in such an eventuality.

He was speaking during a visit to the Golan Heights.

August 26, 1983

COOPERATIVES MEET

HEBRON — The Housing Cooperative Society in Hebron started its annual general meeting. Discussions were held on the implementation of new projects. The society's latest project was the establishment of a mini-suburb on the outskirts of the city comprising 47 units.

UNION REGRETS

JERUSALEM — The Executive Committee of the General Federation of West Bank Unions extended the date for the election of new executive committee seats to December 30, in order to give suspended member unions the opportunity to pay off debts, and rejoin the federation.

WORKERS ARRESTED FOR SLEEPING

JERUSALEM — Israeli police arrested 12 Arab residents from the occupied territories on charges of having stayed overnight in Bat Yam without being in possession of a valid permit. Most of the Arabs are workers from Gaza.

MANOEUVRES OVER HOUSES

NAZARETH — Military authorities have demanded of the Arab village of Musheirfah a huge chunk of land to be used for maneouvres. Residents claim that a village master plan had already been ratified and is on the verge of implementation.

August 27, 1983

MURDER PROBE WANTED

HEBRON — Relatives of Daoud Mohammed Suleiman Atawneh, who was murdered last year by Village Leaguers, have appealed to the ministry of police and interior and the military prosecutor to reopen files and renew the investigation into the crime.

NEW CHARITABLE SOCIETY

BETHLEHEM — The Bethlehem social affairs department has given its approval for the establishment of a charitable society in the village of Tekoah. The department has ratified the appointment of all the society members, with the exception of Suleiman Mohammed Suleiman and Musa al-Sha'er. No reasons have been given for their exclusion.

HOUSE ARREST EXTENSION

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military authorities have extended the house arrest orders imposed on Dr Amin Khatib, chairman of the League of Charitable Societies in the West Bank, and Faisal Husseini, director of the Arab Studies Centre in Jerusalem. This is the fourth time the two men's house arrest orders have been extended.

The order confines the men to their homes in Jerusalem. They are forbidden to leave their residences at night, and must report to the police daily.

August 28 1983

MINES

JERUSALEM — Israeli settlers in the southern Dead Sea regions have stopped all work in fields following a series of explosions. The most recent blast blew off a settler's leg. Reports said the settlers have stumbled on several land mines in the fields recently. Four explosions were reported.

The mines were apparently laid during the 1967 War, and despite Israel army mine-sweeping operations it has been impossible to locate and defuse all of them.

SETTLERS LAW

HEBRON Hebron Arab residents complain that Jewish settlers from Kiryat Arba have launched a new campaign of intimidation against them. They claim that the settlers are now stealing the cars of the city's Arab residents.

One resident said that as he was driving by the Kiryat Arba settlement, he was stopped by a settler brandishing a gun and ordered to get out of his car. The settler also shot into the air, for emphasis.

Reports said police caught a settler from Kfar Shalem and charged him with stealing a car. They did not find the weapon he used.

MECHANICS UNION

JERUSALEM — Members of the Union of Mechanics and Transport Workers met in Jerusalem to elect new office-holders. Under consideration are the establishment of a comprehensive health scheme and the opening of a central garage for car repairs and the sale of spare parts.

Union members also want to reach an overall agreement on hours of work and rates of pay, and adopt a unified stand against unlawful dismissal of colleagues.

GAZA MUNICIPALITY

GAZA - Reports are rife in the Gaza Strip about intensified Israeli contacts with local dignitaries, aimed at persuading some of them to form a new municipal council.

SOLDIER ATTACKED

JERUSALEM -- An unidentified assailant stole the weapon of an Israeli army guard stationed at a military camp in the south, near Beer Sheba, after knocking the soldier unconscious.

Reports said the assailant tried to choke the soldier with a metal chain, then hit him on the head and made off with his gun.

August 29, 1983

LABOUR MARKET MOVED

JERUSALEM — Police authorities arrested 30 labourers at the local 'slave market' and took them to the Bat Yam police station. Police said the Arab labour market would have to be moved to the industrial area and that the 30 men were taken to the police station to have the matter explained to them.

TRAVEL BLOCKED

TULKARM — Residents of several West Bank towns have reacted against moves by Jordanian border officials to prevent them from crossing the Jordan River bridges. Several young people attempting to cross over to Amman have been turned back in the past few days, for no apparent reason.

MORE SCHOOL, LESS HOLIDAY

JERUSALEM — The General Committee of Government School Teachers in the West Bank has asked the Israeli education authorities to rescind the order extending the summer school holidays a further month. The Committee said the decision will have adverse effects on students, who will be unable to finish their curricula within the shrunken school year.

PRISON FOR HEART PATIENT

JERUSALEM — The Nablus military court has sentenced Id Abd al-Rizk Bani Owdeh, a 60-year-old Arab suffering from cardiac problems, to two years in prison. Appeals by the man's lawyer failed to move the court, despite evidence that he has been admitted to hospital five times since his arrest in late May, following heart attacks.

COUNCIL STAYS

JERUSALEM - The Israeli military authorities have been unsuccessful in persuading residents of the village of Ramin to nominate new candidates for the local council.

Reports said military jeeps, equipped with loudspeakers, toured the streets of the village, calling upon the residents to nominate candidates. The military government is trying to replace the existing council, after failing to coerce them into co-operating with the 'civil administration'. Reports said the villagers ignored the appeals.

ONE LIST

ACRE — The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality and the Hope and Work movement in Majd al-Krum have joined forces in presenting one list to contest the forthcoming council elections.

The list is headed by Mohammed Manna', the current mayor of Majd al-Krum.

ELECTION CLEAN-UP

HAIFA — Haifa Mayor Arieh Guriel made an inspection tour of the city's predominantly Arab quarter of Halissah.

His visit came in the wake of a decision to ban a voluntary work camp which Arab youths had proposed to hold in order to clean up their quarter after the municipal authorities failed to carry out their responsibilities.

Reports said Guriel had to bring several workers from Jenin to clean up the quarter, at IS300 a day each.

Residents termed Guriel's visit an election ploy.

SEALED FOR ARSON

JENIN — The Israeli authorities sealed a room in the house of Ahmad al-Fahmawi, following the arrest of his son, Mazen, on charges of having set fire to the car of the town's health director.

The student council at Bir Zeit University organised an exhibit of national industrial and domestic products this week. Above, goods baked in the traditional style are displayed; below, soap products from the West Bank. The exhibit is part of the annual Palestine Week Festival at the university. Its aim is to encourage local production./JN

PENSIONERS PUNISHED

DEIR HANNA — Police have been conducting a campaign aimed at exposing an alleged racket by septuagenarians and octogenarians in Deir Hanna to forge their birth certificates in order to obtain old-age pensions.

Police are disregarding the contention that the people involved had had their birth certificates officially ratified.

They say the police campaign is not directed solely at determining the ages of the old people, but is a political and election ploy. Some 18 people have so far been questioned, and have had their identity cards withdrawn.

LEAGUE PARTY

HEBRON — The 'civil administration' held a ceremony to mark the selection of Jamil Falah al-Amleh as the new head of the Hebron district Village League, and invited several leading personalities to attend the festivities.

Guests said they resented the strong-arm tactics used in forcing them to come. They said they had been told, in no uncertain terms, that their presence was mandatory.

LEAGUE LINKED ARRESTS

RAMALLAH — Three villagers from Qatannah, Abd al-Naser al-Faqihm, Hamdi al-Faqih, and Adeeb Abdallah, were arrested after being involved in a fight with a guard posted at the headquarters of the Ramallah Village League.

August 30, 1983

TEARING DOWN ARAB HEBRON

HEBRON — The Israeli-installed head of Hebron's municipal council, Zamir Shemesh, has ordered the demolition of a three-storey building near the Ibrahimi Mosque. Reports said the 'civil administration' claimed the building was dilapidated and posed a grave danger to passers-by.

Deposed acting Mayor Mustafa Natshe, however, claimed that only one room in the whole building was in danger of collapse, and it could have easily been fortified, without having to pull down the entire building.

The building is located in a restricted area, which has been placed out of bounds by order of the High Court of Israel.

MOSHAVS AGAINST ARABS

JERUSALEM — The moshav (agricultural settlement) movement has called for the expulsion of any member who leases his land to Arabs, after giving him a first warning. The movement also decided to intensify the settlement drive in the Golan and in the Jordan lowlands.

JEWISH HOUSING ONLY

HAIFA -- Democratic Front for Peace and Equality representative Zahi Karkabi said in a letter to Mayor Guriel that he objected strongly to plans to build 120 housing units only for people who served in the Israeli army, as this discriminated against Arabs.

He noted that Housing Minister David Levy had promised to allocate 170 housing units for Arabs in Haifa, but nothing has been done about it yet. He added that in the past 35 years, only 46 homes were built to house Arabs.

HOUSE SEALED IN RETALIATION

JENIN — The Israeli authorities have sealed up a number of houses in Jenin and the nearby village of Sailat al-Harthiyeh owned by West Bank youths arrested on suspicion of having uprooted trees from orchards belonging to Givat Oz settlement.

Reports said charge sheets have been prepared against 11 Arabs who are accused of manufacturing Molotov cocktails and using them to set fire to several cars belonging to collaborators.

The men are also accused of planning to place explosive charges in gas cylinders attached to houses inside Israel.

TRAVEL STOPPED

GAZA — Egyptian border officials are turning back Gaza residents attempting to travel to Egypt via Rafah. Among those prevented from travelling to Cairo were several students who were to sit for examinations in Egyptian universities.

ID BACK-UP

ANABTA — Residents of Anabta who want to renew their identity cards complain they have to wait excessively long. Most of the applicants are guest workers abroad and are in urgent need of their identification papers.

Sources in the Tulkarm 'passport' office claimed 400 identity cards had accumulated in the lost and found departments of West Bank post offices.

US STILL FACT-FINDING

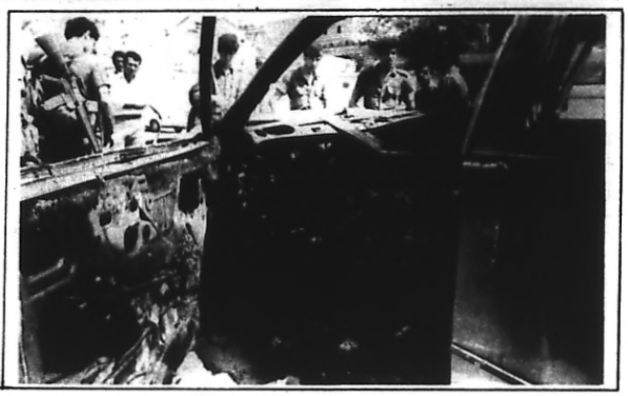
JERUSALEM — An official US fact-finding mission will arrive here next week, to inspect the living conditions of Palestinian refugees in the occupied territories.

The mission is headed by William Colby, special assistant to the director of the Middle East Bureau in the US State Department. Its main objective will be to study the economic conditions and the standard of living of the residents of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The US State Department has made it clear that the visit is not connected with the political future of the occupied territories.

WEST BANK SETTLEMENTS

A HOTHOUSE FOR JEWISH TERROR



Mayor Khalaf's car after the bomb explosion in June, 1980.

When a former head of the Shin Bet (General Security Services) speaks out on security matters, Israel sits up and takes notice. Avraham Ahituv's recent article in Davar about underground terror groups caused a storm of protest. Despite Ahituv's rather circumlocutory style, the point of his message was read loud and clear in the West Bank - settlers are organising terror groups with official backing.

In 1980 Ahituv quit as head of the Shin Bet. At that time David HaCohen, then a Washington Star staffer, reported that Ahituv left his post because of interference by Prime Minister Begin in the investigation of the simultaneous assassination attempts against Bassam Shaka'a, Karim Khalaf and Ibrahim Tawil, respective mayors of Nablus, Ramallah and el-Bireh. HaCohen reported that Begin had told Ahituv the police were spearheading the search for the bombers. Ahituv resigned, it was reported, when a chance conversation with the head of police revealed those investigators had been informed by Begin that Ahituv's men were undertaking the probe. The story was never denied and HaCohen had to spend several months outside the country to escape prosecution.

The following article is one of many appearing recently, alleging, more or less directly, that terror is to be the next phase against the Palestinians. Ahituv's former position, however, has made him a target for criticism from both within the government and outside it. There have been several calls for his prosecution – former security officers are forbidden from going public without permission.

by Avraham Ahituv

The failure to find those responsible for the bombing of the West Bank mayors (in 1980) and the possibility that at least some of the attackers took part in further terrorist activities against Arabs constitutes, first and foremost, an intelligence deficiency. Even the ability to explain this is limited because of reasons known to all. Maybe these reasons do not concern the public at large because they are more interested in the negative result itself than in the explanation.

This failure caused surprise and consternation and prompted statements which at least hinted, if not more, at insincerity and lack of good will among those handling the affair.

Another fault is to compare with negative conclusions the achievements made in blocking Arab terrorism. But our (Israel's) situation and conditions are very different. I do not want to go into details for fear of causing harm.

The open discussion which was renewed following the attack on the Islamic University in Hebron (July 26, three people died and 37 were wounded) suggests that there is a misunderstanding of what caused the rise in terrorism and how to eliminate it. If these acts were really carried out by Jews – and suspicions are strong, but apparently there is no unequivocal and absolute evidence for this – and if, God forbid, this phenomenon recurs, it will become a dangerous threat to the whole regime. Then there will be no escape from (implementing) strict and extensive measures, regardless of the partisan affiliation of the machinery which holds power. There is no doubt that it is a basic national duty to expose and eradicate this plague, and control sources of tension which caused the renewed rise of terrorism.

"Jewish" terror, if it can be called this, is not new. It has been suggested that the current situation be compared to the 1950s.

In the 1950s, a number of terrorist groups operated in the country. But they were isolated and their membership small. In retrospect, they are regarded as amateurs, both in their underground activity and at a professional level. They chose terrorist methods as a way to activate their world view.

In the absence of a clear idea (of responsibility for the present wave) and under the assumption that the terrorist acts we are discussing were undertaken by Jews, we can only assess that this time the motivation to use terror was a response to the strained social and political relations within the population of the West Bank. This is a similar situation, but it is not identical, to that of the 1950s, as will be explained. One difference is very clear: those who now choose the way of terror are of high operational calibre; their underground activity does not leave signs and their political environment protects them, apparently without being aware of what is going on.

After the attacks on the mayors, there was excessive cautiousness and reluctance to have any relations with security people. Apparently this was a spontaneous initiative which came about mainly as a show of solidarity with the attackers. It could also reveal reservations about the security elements. I doubt if their "colleagues" of the 1950s won so much sympathy. I think they did not receive any sympathy from the other political camp in those days.

Then, alienation from the security elements and indirect solidarity with the extreme left could be seen. For example, in a number of *HaShumer HaTza'ir* (Mapam's young guards), it was not possible even to gather personal information on those suspected of committing offences against the security of the state. The two examples, and there are more, reflect a base of support for the general direction of the underground's actions without direct involvement in them.

The existence of a front like this is more effective in promoting the rise of terror than a help in revealing involvement in it.

If the clandestine organisation is small in size and only carries out one terrorist operation and after that disperses, and its members are careful and cautious, the possibilities of uncovering it are poor. The bigger the number and the more their operations, the stronger the possibility of capturing them.

The question is posed about whether the security services were not lax in ignoring for a long time a likely group from which clandestine activities might arise. The answer to this question might reveal the (at least indirect) psychological basis for the rise of this terrorism in recent years. It might also show further differences in this regard with the 1950s.

I do not have any doubt of our right to settle in this country, and in principle in every place which is not populated. But I am against the idea of settling in *any place* at *any time*.

It is from this perspective that I have to raise the subject of settlement – not in order to discuss it but to indicate the possibility that at least from a psychological angle, it has also indirectly served as a hothouse for the rise of this terrorism. There is no doubt that the settlement process has won a smashing victory. Even the American government officials learned to come to terms with it, through different statements, and the Labour Alignment will come to terms with it. But from the point of the subject under consideration, the process of settlement left behind it a deep psychological scar on relations between settlers and rulers and it accelerated and intensified the confrontation in the area with the Palestinians. From both confrontations, another sure motive for terrorism feeds.

How did the settlements start behind the 'green line'?

They began by settlers taking the law into their own hands, sometimes by cheating and sometimes through open disobedience and confrontation with the army. The start of Kiryat Arba was the famous break-in and occupation by Rabbi Levinger and a group of his friends in the Park Hotel in Hebron during the 'Pessah feast" (1968), and ended in the idyllic and beautiful settlement which is bent on expansion. The advancement started with the break-in at the old railway station in Sebastia and was followed by dozens of settlements in the West Bank. According to all opinion, when the Labour Party was still in power, the process of settlement burgeoned and was given legitimacy, at least partially – at the beginning under compulsion – by some ministers and high ranking army officers.

With the rise of the Likud to power, the doubts and hestitations passed and legitimacy was given unanimously in clear language. It was proved to the settlers as a rule of thumb that the belief in means, accompanied by courageous actions and determination to reach the objective, meant that they should not stop confronting the regime or carrying out illegal actions. This is also because, so it was said, the legitimacy of the settlements, at least part of them, was given when the Labour Party was in power.

The result is not only embodied in the mere existence of settlements, but also, and this is more important, in the deep psychological belief that the violators of law and order who turned into respected and strong settlers are right in confronting the government.

In short, the activities of the settlers against the government were validated. This shows a position of great strength against the regime. Moreover, only a very small number of the Israelis agree their power should be lessened. There is no doubt that the political support for them has grown significantly.

And again, if these terrorists are indeed Jews and if there is evidence to suspect that they are supporters of settlement behind the 'green line', we again return to question the reasons for not using large-scale intelligence efforts on this sector of the population.

By the way, most of the unapproved settlements did not surprise senior government officials. Those who accepted the settlement process and adjusted to it rejected any official justification to employ the security secret service full force among this public.

Maybe it is good to emphasise that this principle consideration certainly does not constitute an umbrella for a person who has already been suspected of underground activities. He will be handled as is required.

An efficient plan for using intelligence means would not only have prevented us from exerting effort in explaining; it also would have put an end to a dangerous process and deterred others from following this path.

As we examine our policy of settlement on the West Bank, we find out that there is no doubt that the settlers have the right to effective official protection, for the individual and property. Therefore, we should not build a settlement if it is not possible to ensure security for it. Defecient security will surely cause, here and there, a terrorist action which would be followed by a series of responses. This logic requires refraining from settling inside the Arab population, for example in Nablus, and even in the quarter which was once Jewish in Hebron.

With all the resentment which we have in our heart because we were expelled from Hebron, the ancestral town, is it correct to allow this public, who is not good in curbing its conduct towards Arab neighbours, to settle in the vicinity and inevitably to inflame existing hostilities on both sides and result in a situation of continuous mutual responses?

Why should we create more reasons for an extremist Jew to follow the way of terrorism in order to "teach the Arabs a lesson"? In order to have successful settlement in the West Bank, settlements should be restricted to less troubled areas. (Translation: Davar, August 19, 1983).